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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2084

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## ALBANIA

### CURRENT SITUATION IN ALBANIA REVIEWED IN VIENNA SOURCE

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German Nov 82 pp 21-24

[Article by Richard Swartz: "Everyday Albania: The Party Is Everywhere"] "

[Text] The party is everywhere.

Underneath the dome of the circus tent, the trapeze artist suddenly unfurls a red flag. Hanging in the back of her knees, she swings around in a big curve in the air, causing the flag of the Albanian Workers Party to flutter above the heads of the enthusiastic crowd. During the final parade, the red flags turn up once again. At the microphone, the circus director tries to shout down the shrill military music; something about the Eighth Party Congress of the Albanian Workers Party is drowned out by the roar of Balkan drums and wind instruments, after some spotlights go out down, the acrobats are forced to finish their act in semi-darkness: An involuntary illustration of how far apart the slogans of the circus director and Albanian reality still are.

#### But the Party is Everywhere

It focuses attention on itself by means of posters, banners, and slogans which have already become part of the everyday language. Nowhere does the visitor meet an "ordinary" Albanian without one or several party representatives being present, a presence that, although discreet and tactful, leads to the feeling of facing semi-arranged situations rather than the true Albanian workday.

Sometimes that party interferes directly in everyday living. On December 18, 1981 radio Tirana reported that Prime Minister Shehu, in a sudden nervous breakdown, had committed suicide. A state funeral for Enver Hoxha old comrade-in-arms was out of the question, it said: An Albanian communist does not commit suicide.

In fact, Shehu has been completely removed from the Albanian workday, as were former alleged traitors such as Koci Xoxe (1948) or Beqir Balluku (1975). During my 1979 visit, Shehu had still been a solid part of Albanian propaganda; often he was shown at Hoxha side. Now, even Enver Hoxha memoirs, "When the Party was Born", have disappeared, apparently because they also mentioned Shehu. A visit to the new National Museum is also a strange experience: Shehu's name and his picture have disappeared although most displays came from the old Museum of the Revolution where he occupied a prominent location. Now he has become a "non-person."

To the "ordinary" Albanian as well, a large part of reality must appear to be packaged by the party--a reality in which the party embodies everything between tangible reality and blurred myth; it is sometimes difficult for the visitor to decide what is real. "Comrade Enver visited with us and urged that we increase production," the chief engineer of the precision instruments plant in Korca says. "We immediately followed his sound advice and have never had any reason to regret it." He said that in all seriousness. However, what does it mean? Is that merely a rhetorical question, a programmed and obligatory reference to Enver Hoxha and the party? Or is it a matter of genuine, revolutionary enthusiasm?

The same question comes up over and over again in Albania: Despite two lengthy stays in that country, in 1979 and 1982, I am still not yet in a position to provide an unqualified answer.

In Korca, we walk through machine sheds that look like something between a sooty blacksmith shop and a primitive laboratory. With the help of largely Chinese machinery, measures, rulers with precision scales, adjustable wrenches (monkey wrenches), compasses, etc., are manufactured here, all of them instruments that are needed to make an industrial company work. Often they are coarse as well as primitive, produced at high costs, and the casual visitor has mixed feelings. Is all of this really necessary? Why not benefit from the experience of the rest of the world instead of reinventing the bicycle?

#### Annoying Questions

Such questions irritate the Albanians. "To us, proteins are more important than taste", states agronomist Fejzo Pashaj of agricultural collective number 17 Nentori, when, in referring to Western experience, I expressed surprise when told that they want to set up a huge production plant to fatten chickens with fish meal. Thus, many discussions are cut short with a frequently supreme lack of interest in the experiences of others or with a reference to the ideological and economic blockade to which Tirana feels subjected.

"You are forgetting the blockade," said the chief engineer in Korca, too, when I asked him why they do not import precision instruments instead of manufacturing them in Korca, at costs that are obviously uneconomical.

The blockade remains a myth even though the party has turned it into reality. The blockade must not be questioned and becomes a fact through a mentality reminiscent of other mountain peasants in Europe: A mentality that consists of a heavy dose of distrust, pride, puritanism and stubbornness bordering on self-righteousness, however also nearly unlimited confidence and similar hospitality once the ice is broken. This mentality explains a lot. Keeping it in mind makes it easier to understand why the Albanians first accepted the Yugoslavs, then the Russians and finally the Chinese and then remained behind, disappointed and bitter, like credulous peasants who were taken in by a peasant catcher in the city. This mentality also explains their attitude toward foreign credits, which are prohibited in the constitution, and the panic-like fear to owing anyone.

Credits? "If we buy something, we pay cash," they say, and it is as if one is listening to peasants who remember hundreds of years of daily wages and feudalism. "We can't understand how you Swedes borrow so much money abroad," they say with genuine concern in the Foreign Ministry. "Sweden is a neutral state. Aren't you afraid of losing your independence?"

#### Hard Discipline and Spartan Customs

Hoxha's regime seems to build consciously on this rural frugality and conservative cautiousness; with hard discipline and spartan attitudes it has become a system which has little in common with those of other socialist states in Eastern Europe. Therefore, in the Balkans, it is the Bulgarians who seem closest to the Albanians--the Bulgarians who at one time were labeled the "Prussians" among the Balkans--and next to the ideological fathers Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, George Dimitrov is practically the only foreign communist one comes across in Albania: Here and there a bust or statue, occasionally a portrait behind glass. In Bulgaria, I always felt welcome and almost at home, writes Enver Hoxha in that part of his memoirs in which he gets even with the "lackeys of the archrevisionist Khrushchev" in Eastern Europe.

The heritage of this society of peasants, more than socialist value standards, seems to have shaped the aesthetic ideals that are being propagated in Hoxha's Albania; there are no traces of influences dating back to the period of artistic experimentation following the Russian October Revolution. Instead, a mixture of naive art and dogmatically interpreted socialist realism was created that is so exaggerated that it would be difficult to find something similar even in the basements of art museums in Warsaw or Budapest. Andrzej Wajda's "Man of Marble" from the stalinist 1950's still occupies his place of honor in the exhibition halls. In Albania, art must /represent/ something and one should be able to /see/ what it represents: Even if Khrushchev is considered to be the worst of all revisionists, there must be here--at least secretly--some sympathy for this Russian "muzhik" who said during an exhibition of modern art in Moscow that the pictures looked as if donkey tails had swished across the canvas.

The natural gallery of Tirana presents itself to the visitor from the West as a pathetic collection of cheap kitsch that has the revolution as its motive--the place is teeming with badly painted partisans and foundry workers casting steel, with people glorified to the extent that they are unrecognizable, small children unmasking American agents, and workers who are a cross between Superman and Arno Breker's Third Reich monumental statues. I stop in front of a canvas which shows a worker in blue overalls, with obligatory swollen muscles and standing before an easel in an artist's studio, who explains to a rapt group of artists how they must paint. "We are against any elitist art," explains the tourist guide who herself is a painter, "with us, art must be such that it is immediately understood by the working masses." Should, conversely, the artists go to the factories and explain to the workers how they should do their lathe and foundry work? She prefers not to answer the question as too rhetorical. But she giggles; it takes a while before she regains her obligatory cool.

## Literature is Viewed the Same Way

"A drama like Hamlet is not particularly important in a socialist society," says the chairman of the Writers' Association, Dritero Agolli. "With us, the basic dilemma of man has already been resolved." While I attempt to reassure myself that I heard him correctly, Agolli reports that, instead of Hamlet, they want literature that fights bureaucracy, intellectualism or technocratic tendencies in society. In response to my question, he suggests the topic of an inventor who, after a long struggle against bureaucrats who lack understanding and ingenuity, is able to persuade them that his invention is really ingenious and of benefit to all society. Such a novel must be written, he said. What Agolli does not mention--perhaps does not even know--is that it was this very topic which degenerated into a literary fad under Khrushchev. Vladimir Dudinxew's novel "Man Does Not Live by Bread Alone" is one of those novels that anticipated the political thaw in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties.

## Travel Into the Past

Again and again situations arise when everything seems to repeat itself and lead to the temptation to compare today's socialist Albania with an earlier development stage of the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

Thus a visit to Albania can also become a trip into the past, an almost perfect trip into that time period which in Eastern Europe is called "retro". Hungarian friends, with whom I shared my impressions on my return while stopping over in Budapest, are slightly amused and feel very superior. All this is old hat. It is nothing but the stalinist fifties in a new format, the same gray world with its combination of deadly boredom and sounds emanating from ideological prayer wheels. Their smiles are a bit forced: Albania is of no interest to them, except possibly as an example of a semi-oriental exotic culture. Quite naturally, our discussion is colored by their central-European arrogance.

"As soon as these Albanians stick their noses across the border, they will realize that they live in a fool's paradise," they note.

Still, does history repeat itself? Could Albania be an example of such a repetition, which in the end astonishes and fills with enthusiasm only those directly involved? Closer examination shows that the parallels are no longer quite so obvious. Albania's isolation, for instance, is in many respects less than that of the classical stalinist society: Yugoslav or Italian television can be viewed in large parts of the country, and every evening, a relay station in Tirana transmits the news program of the Italian television (Telegiornale), which is transmitted in full length and without commentary. Party functionaries in Tirana say the foreign program "complements" their own--the fact that it also projects a completely different view of the world, does not seem to bother them too much. At least in the cities, almost everyone seems to have a good command of Italian; during the World Cup Soccer matches, the streets of Tirana were full of young people crowding around rare transistor sets to hear direct reports from Italian broadcasting stations. And this



schizophrenia of world views in the mass media does not appear to interrupt the system. Maybe the Western consumer society with all its freedom is not as great a magnet for a semi-oriental society like that of Albania as we imagine?

Yet, at the same time, isolation is a reality. "Ordinary" Albanians have almost no chance to leave the country, although party functionaries try to deal with the isolation through the use of statistics. "Albania has diplomatic relations with 95 countries," one frequently gets to hear, even from the smallest grade-school boy (a reply that is almost automatic as if in response to pushing a button), but what is meant to prove Albania's links to the rest of the world, has of course the opposite effect, since the citizens normally never bother with such a statistic; a society that has to document such a phenomenon /is/ in a sense isolated. This isolation also carries a high economic price and could have future political consequences as well.

Enveloped by the clatter of sewing machines and looms in the Korca textile plant, women sit at precisely the same machines they have at Lilienbach, Germany, as shown in photos of the solemn dedication ceremony of the factory: Both the photos and the machines are vintage 1947. The work climate here is worse than that in the textile factories of Lodz where embittered women workers went on strike during the summer of 1980, a kind of dress rehearsal for events in Poland later that same summer. And here? Does the isolation also have a political price? But nobody protests. "Yes, sure," they answer through an interpreter, "it is pretty noisy here." Sometimes one has quite a headache when one returns home. Wouldn't they like to move away from here? To another job? They laugh somewhat embarrassed by such an obviously silly question. A young girl with a scarf on her head answers; "But we work where our country needs us most."

Without the Least Trace of Irony

"Lead us!"

Where one is needed most is determined by the Albanian Workers Party. Free choice of work is non-existent in Albania: In an agricultural collective in the south of the country, they do not even want to understand my question. The party has a plan for the whole country and knows best. Why should anybody push to get his way? This would only harm the nation. "Lead us!" reads a propaganda poster in the village main street, created by party propagandists in the name of the people and addressed to the party, a reminder that what rules here, is, according to doctrine, the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no doubt that this notion is close to Albanian reality. But here again, one must be careful about parallels. Because against /whom/ is that dictatorship directed?

It is easy to see that Albanian society is very homogeneous: A fully developed class structure never existed here, hardly a bourgeoisie in the traditional sense, no aristocracy, and the landowners and few entrepreneurs left the country with the Italian or German troops. Similarly, the abolition of all

religion in 1966 must be viewed rather as a political action against the three large church groups, which were considered /institutions/ to have always also represented foreign interests (the communists believed that they conceivably could become a basis for future organized opposition). "If we maintain that it was the people that did away with religion of its own volition, it is not mere propaganda," said a party functionary in a moment of inadmissible sincerity. Albania's peasants wanted to be masters of their own homes for the first time in history, and the churches reminded them of a time when that was not possible: This modification as well must be added to the classical picture of a stalinist party which establishes its power monopoly.

### Peasants as the Only Class

It is this social homogeneity, a society with peasants as the only class and filled with patriotism for the first sovereign state in the nation's history which seems to be a reason of at least equal importance for the stability of the system as the dictatorial terror foreign observers tend to emphasize. The combination of a backward peasant society with stalinism also explains the absence of politics per se in Hoxha's Albania: After the collapse of the "world view" of the feudal lords and their underlings, an ideological vacuum developed that could never be filled by a peasant population that was largely indifferent toward ideologies. The peasants were interested in obtaining the right to own land, in preventing the return of the feudal lords, drainage to eliminate malaria and, in general, in their Albanian fatherland. The small group of communists promised them most of these things and filled the remaining vacuum with their own ideas. Therefore, politics in that society are a prerogative of the party--political decisions are made within the party and not in a dialogue with society, and presented to society. And the dictatorship becomes concrete /within/ the party rather than at the interface between it and society: A party, which since the war convulsed with bloody purges and repeated punishments of alleged traitors.

It is almost impossible for the "ordinary" Albanian or the casual visitor to gain an insight into the political process. Because it is one of the most significant characteristics of this society that it is barely transparent, that it surrounds itself with secrets in some areas and that the system keeps creating new ones. A "terra incognita" for its citizens. In the museum of Korca, I look at a magnificent collection of icons by the Byzantine master Onufrij. The interpreter, a student at Tirana University, is just as enthused as I am, and together we admire one icon after the other until he asks me what they actually represent. They show the traditional motives of icon paintings, such as the crucifixion of Christ, the Last Judgment, the Last Supper, Christ in the Manger...

What do they represent? Is he joking? No, he honestly doesn't know what Onufrij describes, and I suddenly realize that I am facing a European youth who lost knowledge of the myths and values that form the basis of our civilization. While we make the rounds of the museum, I try to tell him about at least the most important things of the life of Christ and he listens very attentively, appears to look at the icons with new interest.

"About these things we have never learned anything," he then says.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR DEFENSE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CUBA VISIT

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 15 No 47, 1982 (signed to press 15 Nov 82)  
p 5

[HORIZONT interview with Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR minister for national defense, on his visit to Cuba, 14-23 October 1982 (date and place of interview not given): "GDR-Cuba Friendship and Militant Partnership Have Been Intensified"]

[Text] [Question] In the second half of October you visited Socialist Cuba heading an official military delegation of the GDR--as we know it was not the first time. What were your most important impressions compared to earlier visits?

[Answer] The first visit by an official military delegation of the GDR was in the spring of 1971--then we participated in the demonstrations on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory over the mercenary invasion at Playa Giron, and we got acquainted with the "General Antonio Maceo" officers' school of the ground forces, which we were able to visit again this time. Here it became particularly obvious what enormous progress the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba has made in the past 11 years in protecting the achievements and the peaceful construction of the Cuban people, in developing an army of rebels into a modern socialist army. This school, founded in 1963, was given college status in 1978, and in July 1982 the first students finished their 4-year education. About 70 percent of the teaching officers have received a college education. The minister of the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba, Army Gen Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and deputy chairman of the state council and the council of ministers, stated that the educational program does not yet meet modern demands in all respects but is already quite good. We were able to fully confirm that--the study rooms, the classrooms and above all the obstacle course and the training courses for short-range tank defense and for combatting incendiary agents make possible the very intensive and hard, realistic training and education of the future young officers.

[Question] Were you able to note similar progress in other fields of social life?

[Answer] Yes, because everywhere in the country there is building activity going on, new enterprises, roads, power lines, schools, hospitals and also

apartments have been built. Since the establishment of the people's power, yearly dozens of large-scale projects have started operation--all in all over 1,000, a quarter of them with Soviet assistance. Apart from the traditional export goods, sugar, tobacco, and rum, today Cuba produces cement, nickel, combines, vehicles, television sets and data processing machines. We were able to visit a ceramics factory which was set up with the assistance of the GDR in record time on the Isla de la Juventud (Isle of Youth). The former Isla de Pinos on which Fidel and Raul Castro as well as their comrades-in-arms were imprisoned after the storming of the Moncada Barracks from Santiago de Cuba. Today on the island there are dozens of country schools, modern teaching institutes with boarding schools for children and young people from young states.

However, the blockade by the United States and the constant threat to Cuba of diversive actions, of attacks by counterrevolutionary mercenaries, including demonstrative actions by the U.S. Armed Forces and joint maneuvers of the United States with formations of Latin American states in the Caribbean have forced the Cuban leadership to constantly pay great attention to the national defense and make available comprehensive means for it.

This made the swift development of the consumer goods industry and housing construction as well as a rapid increase in the material standard of living of the working people more difficult. Thus, today food and the essential material goods on demand are still rationed. The free sale of surplus goods of the individual economies at so-called farmers' markets is still in the initial stages. The health sector and the education sector, however, operate at a high level which is unique in all America. In these fields Cuba has made striking internationalist achievements: about 50,000 Cuban physicians, teachers, construction experts and other specialists work in over 30 developing countries.

[Question] In the past years the Cuban health sector--along with the entire state and economic apparatus--was under great strain due to epidemics and bad weather....

[Answer] This is right. In 1981 the Cubans had to fight a yellow fever epidemic, whose spread must be seen in connection with the methods of the imperialist biological warfare as well as with the U.S. blockade. Government offices and concerns of the United States prevented the sale of corresponding vaccines and antiepidemic means even by Mexican and FRG companies.

For several years now Cuba has also been stricken with three other--as Fidel Castro said--ruinous scourges: swine fever, cane rust and tobacco blue mold. The large harvest and animal losses, of course, also resulted in additional economic difficulties for the foreign trade and foreign exchange balance which, due to the very depressed sugar prices on the capitalist world market, is serious anyhow.

As is known the U.S. Armed Forces have been experimenting for decades with precisely such bacteria, viruses, microorganisms and pests that can be used as "economic weapons." It has been proved that they practiced chemical and

biological warfare in Korea and in Vietnam. Therefore, it is only understandable that many Cubans think that these epidemics and diseases have been brought into their country by Yankee imperialists.

[Question] In 1981 Fidel Castro discussed that in detail. You had a long talk with him....

[Answer] Yes, he received us on 21 October at about 1900 and we spent over an hour with him in his office at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. I conveyed to him the greetings of the SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker and briefed him on the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. Fidel Castro was very interested in our experiences with science and technology, particularly microelectronics and the employment of robots. Upon our request, he discussed in detail the political situation in Latin America and the attacks of U.S. imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua as well as against the liberation movements, in particular that of El Salvador. The Falklands conflict upset the imperialist plans to smash the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, but at present the United States is doubling its efforts to win back its dominant influence on the states of Latin America and maintain in power the regimes depending on it. Cuba, however, it was stressed by Fidel Castro, Raul Castro and all other Cuban partners in the talk, is not to be blackmailed and is not to be taken off its course of building and defending socialism, supporting young states in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by new forms of economic war or military aggression.

[Question] You have also visited the Hendrik Witbooi Solidarity School on the Isla de la Juventud.

[Answer] Yes, it is the same school which Erich Honecker also visited 2 years ago. Young people from Namibia, a former colony of the German Empire whose troops waged a criminal war against the populace, cruelly persecuted the insurgents under Hendrik Witbooi and pursued a policy of genocide, are now studying there. After World War I, Namibia fell under the rule of the racist South African regime which exploited the rich natural wealth of the country and opposed all UN resolutions on the granting of independence. As socialist German military men, we saw with deep emotion how students whose parents had been murdered by the South African racists on Angolan soil, in Cassinga, commemorated this event in an artistic presentation and pledged never to forget Cassinga. And we told these African youths who are being educated as guests of the Cuban people: "Some day you will return to your liberated homeland for whose peaceful and happy future you are now studying here along with the students from Namibia who are receiving a college education in the GDR or have even received a college teaching degree--children of a people who in their own homeland must not even have access to secondary schools or colleges.

[Question] What do you regard as the main event during your stay in Cuba?

[Answer] The visit of the official GDR military delegation to this beautiful country, on which Christopher Columbus set foot almost 500 years ago and which

he admired, has conveyed to us new impressions of the industriousness and revolutionary passion of the liberated people in the first socialist state of America. We have once more seen confirmation of the fact that the decisive source of strength of each socialist country lies in the creative vigor of its people, in the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Party and their deep friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

During these days we became acquainted with many outstanding people in socialist Cuba: workers, peasants, physicians, teachers, engineers, party and state officials, members of the revolutionary armed forces. They are communists who are most deeply devoted to Marxism-Leninism, to the victorious ideas of proletarian internationalism, who under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party headed by the outstanding revolutionary and statesman Fidel Castro are accomplishing truly heroic deeds on all fronts of the class struggle and the socialist construction. In the armed forces we met well-trained and educated soldiers and noncommissioned officers, officers and generals who are mastering the scientific foundations of modern military science.

Certainly our visit has helped to reaffirm and deepen the firm friendship and fraternal combat unity between the GDR and Cuba. This is particularly important at a time when U.S. imperialism has launched crusades against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Cuba is a special target of the Reagan administration which would like to crush all forces of national independence and social progress in Central America and in the Caribbean.

We are convinced that these dangerous machinations will founder on the political and moral strength of the peoples, particularly of socialist Cuba, on the justice and victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

We are convinced that Cuba, the beacon of socialism in the Caribbean, will also in the future not go out but will shine more and more brilliantly and point for the Latin American peoples the way to a happy and peaceful future.

CSO: 2300/67

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ANTISUBMARINE PATROL TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSAMEE in German No 37, 1982 (signed to press 6 Sep 82) p 4

[Article by Lt Col Siegfried Posselt: "Portrait in Sidelights: Dedicated to the Submarine Hunt"]

[Text] Permit me to present: Lieutenant junior grade Rainer Harms, commander of the "Luebz"

- Born in Rostock 27 April 1955
- Graduated with honors in 1973, admitted as a candidate to the party and began studies at the Karl Liebknecht Officers School
- Happily married since 1977, and commissioned lieutenant in the same year
- Began serving as second watch officer on board the sub-chaser "Buetzow," which I was appointed to command 2 years later
- Today commanding officer of the antisubmarine vessel "Luebz"
- Once intent on studying human genetics but finally decided in favor of the profession of naval officer
- A passionate philatelist, "with a Lada in the closet," as far as the value of the collection is concerned.

I am all alone in the commander's cabin of the antisubmarine vessel "Luebz" and have time to look around. To the left of the door is a wall-shelf full of books. It is said that books can tell you about their owner. I need such information about the man I want to present. My eyes scan the spines. Hofe and Clausewitz lean against each other as good neighbors. The one is represented with "Red Snow," "Merci, Friend" and "Final Agreement," and other with "Selected Military Works." Navigation manuals are leaning against them and a volume about international law of the sea. In another bay: Erich Honecker's "From My Life" and in booklet form material from the Fourth Central Committee Meeting...Farthest left two books in the Russian language, on seamanship, already a bit worn-out. They arouse my curiosity. I am flipping through them as Lt J G Rainer Harms enters--the youngest commanding officer in LCDR Klaus Rohde's antisubmarine patrol boat section, based on rank and age.

The two volumes in Russian at the extreme left on the shelf have a history. Officer candidate Rainer Harms accepted them from the hands of an old Soviet naval officer. His name is written under the dedication. Another entry in German is signed by Dr Birr, captain and instructor at the Karl Liebknecht Officers School. It reads: "To the best officers school candidate on the navigational training voyage of Training Course 73 around Zealand-Gdynio-Tallinn, awarded on behalf of the Soviet brothers in arms..."

That was on 22 July 1976--in the presence of the Soviet brothers in arms: They were seated in the lecture hall, already in high spirits because of their imminent leave. But the high point of the training is yet to be evaluated: In the past weeks the candidates practiced all the aspects of navigation on a voyage. In unknown waters, mind you. That was anything but easy. The thoughts of officer candidate Rainer Harms are occupied with this when his name is called. He did not misunderstand. He is the only one to be called forward. That surprises him. You did not do any heroic deed, he thinks. And he is a little confused when the Soviet naval officer steps up to him and presses his hand. He is to pass on the textbooks when he is older and more mature. To a young, promising comrade at his side.

Meanwhile, 6 years have passed. The then officer candidate now commands a modern antisubmarine patrol ship as lieutenant junior grade. The two volumes which accompanied him on this path now stand unread on the bookshelf of the commander's cabin. Lt J G Rainer Harms's Russian technical vocabulary is not sufficient to tackle them. But he might need them when in the not too distant future he will study--as has been planned--at a military academy in the Soviet Union.

#### Early Morning Inspection

Morning muster on the boat deck is over. Those who have anything to report to the commander come to his cabin: Petty Officer 2nd Class Peter Borth--the boatswain, Petty Officer 2nd Class Andreas Bruelke--the officer of the deck...I am sitting in as a quiet observer. The meal plan for the day must be changed; there are 15 more men to feed. An entry is missing from the log book. Lt J G Rainer Harms makes a note of it. The incorrect delivery of weapons and ammunition must be evaluated, he remarks. He flips through the ship's diary, scans the columns with the ballpoint pen: The seals have been checked, as well as the lines and fenders and the ammunition stocks. The ship's chronometers were compared at 0700 hours and synchronized to the second. He asks in order to check, and gives instructions: "That will be changed..." or "You will report to me..." without raising his voice noticeably. Nothing imperious, but a touch of friendliness in the voice, which lends something youthful to it and makes it congenial. And it occurs to me: What he says sounds decisive and clear, seems well thought out and excludes contradiction. He is used to giving orders and presumes that they will be obeyed as a matter of fact.

The ship he commands was commissioned in February this year. The crew has learned to use the equipment and weapons in combat. This will shortly be tested by the senior staff. It would be an illusion if they were to maintain that they are already capable of completely utilizing the combat capacities of the ship.



Tough training is still needed for that. "To have a 1 as a goal would be illusory." Those are his words. I still have them in my ear as he said them. "But a 2 should be possible." They want to defend their title of "Best Ship" in the socialist competition.

#### Inquiries Between the Bridge and Engine Room

The commander is the sovereign leader, it is said on board. What has impressed the crew about him? "The clear political attitude as a communist, the expert knowledge, the endurance," (Ens Joerg Zipfel). "The way he identifies with the ship--with the crew" (Seaman Tino Oechel). "His whole demeanor" (Seaman Andre Schoene). "How with his 27 years he has everything so firmly in hand" (Seaman Jens Meyer). "That he, when it is called for, calls someone to him and says: Well done!" (Petty Officer 2nd Class Andreas Bruelke). "The demands he places on the people--above all his officers" (Ens Michael Rohde). "The will power he musters" (Ens Hans-Peter Kuchar). "That he is a good sport and sometimes also cracks a joke" (Petty Officer 3rd Class Uwe Seidel). And in many variations is repeated, when the talk turns to his weaknesses: In a tense situation he has to be calmer.

As if he did not know it--Lt J G Rainer Harms. He has a lot of impatience in him and sometimes he presumes too much. What will he do when the submarine chase fever grabs him? He still takes too many decisions away from the commanders of the combat division. "That will change," he says. "With the increasing level of training. Even over the next 6 months." Since he left the officers school he has not stopped learning. In the future as well nobody will be able to absolve him from that. But they will take him at his word, the 25 communists on board. He can rely on that.

#### Debut as Commander in the ATAKA Room

This confounded learning--it never ends. And he also does not want it to end. Once in a while memories come to life: He sees himself sitting in the cabin, scarcely having become commander of the "Beutzow," of the sub-chaser which is now no longer in service. This was 3 years ago. They are practicing an attack by an antisubmarine group. Contact is to be made and maintained with the enemy ship, the position toward the enemy must be taken up, bow and stern attacks alternate...For the first time he has to make decisions as a commander.

LCDR Bernds Eue directs the training. Rainer Harms still lacks the power of imagination to understand the situation at the site of the action at sea. He has the sounding and distance to the submarine. What must his course be in order to avoid interfering with the contact by another sub-chaser? With some difficulty he succeeds in taking up the recommended position. He follows the submarine. But it changes course, sharply toward his sub-chaser. Precisely at the moment when he is calculating the minimum range. That surprises him. He has not counted on that. The distance is shrinking while he is watching. Only one or two cables still separate the submarine and the sub-chaser. How to react? A decisive maneuver would be necessary. He would have to run very fast

over a measured distance, ask the division chief for the assignment of a new escort sector and resume the contact which had been lost. He would not lose the submarine. Combat Sector I keeps the dead reckoning. But that does not enter his mind--cannot enter his mind. He still lacks the necessary antisubmarine patrol experience. Only a single thought is in his head: "You must not lose contact!" Consequently, he splashes around, as they say, in its vicinity.

He must motivate his decision in the evaluation room at the blackboard. Around him are the older and more experienced commanders. LCDR Siegfried Kuehn steps up, describes the maneuver from his point of view, what would have been necessary.

Yes, they teach him how to hunt submarines, and later they play through such situations with him on the table, use pencils as submarines and sub-chasers, push them back and forth, mark their courses, demand that he makes decisions, correct him.

#### The Entire Crew Attacks, Not Just the Commander

He must keep his nose to the grindstone if he wants to command a ship. It has remained thus, to this day. The combat capabilities of the modern antisubmarine patrol ship, which has replaced the sub-chaser of the past, must be mastered and utilized. Not at some point, but in the shortest possible time. This is demanded by the present tense situation. And the antisubmarine sections of the training, those are moments of truth. For him as well as for everyone on board. In combat they may not permit an enemy submarine to arrive at its deployment target, to interrupt our own supply lines or to attack the harbor. No ship in the submarine reconnaissance and attack group may evade this responsibility--no officer of the watch, no sonar man, no helmsman, no pump man. He attaches great importance to making this clear, Lt J G Rainer Harms. In man to man conversations. At meetings of the communists. In the FDJ organization. So that no one should think that he as commander only has to lead and the rest would follow. "You must write that," he says to me. "That is important. I can set high goals for myself as commander. But if the crew is not behind me, I can forget the whole thing..." In his conversation he sometimes uses examples from one of the antisubmarine exercises of the past. His crew has never failed him. But once they exceeded themselves. "100 percent successful attack," it was said. Over several hours, which constituted 75 to 80 percent of the possible time, they maintained contact with the "enemy submarine." All the depth charges hit their target without exception. The level of training of this crew will be achieved and exceeded. Nothing else is on his mind.

#### Withdrawal Into the "Hinterland"

In the evening of a normal day of training, when Lt J G Rainer Harms climbs on his bike at the harbor in order to go to his "hinterland," then he knows what he has accomplished. Sometimes he does not want to hear or see any more. It may be like that today, for he says that answering my questions about himself was more strenuous than 12 hours of sub-chasing. But at home his wife Irene and

sons Thomas and Holger, one 4 and the other 2, are waiting for him. They expect a friendly word from him and have much to tell. And Thomas, the oldest, does not forget to ask whether his father greeted the "uncles" on board, as he asked him to do that morning. They have been his good friends ever since he visited them once when he was a 3-year-old lad. And just as Daddy on his ship he believes; You must have discipline!

11949

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RISKS OF PEDAGOGICAL MODELS' 'AUTHORITATIVE STYLE' POINTED OUT

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR in German Vol 30 No 10, Oct 82 pp 71-81

[Lecture by Prof Hans-Dieter Schmidt, child psychologist, Humboldt University, East Berlin presented at 20th theoretical conference on "Days of Children's and Adolescents' Literature" in Halle, April 1982: "The Image of the Child-- A Norm and Its Effects"]

[Text] The topic of the child admits of many variations in science and art. Artistic varieties of it are found in movies, the visual arts and literature. As far as the visual arts and literature are concerned, I am thinking of Uhde's "Little Moorland Princess," the Boy of Picasso's rose period, Zille's victorious and defeated kids, and Heidrun Hegewald's "Child at Play"; I am thinking of Thomas Mann's Hanno and Dostoyevsky's Ilyusha, Strittmatter's Tinko and Jersild's Reine. The most typical examples they may not be; my perspective may be somewhat one-sided. Be that as it may: to me they are the prototypes for a transcendence from the subject of the child in its narrowly defined isolated sphere of experience to a wider frame of reference that relates the child to the societal, the social environment.

One might think of such works of art as purely individual creations with their roots confined to an autonomous creative Ego. It would be hard to build a bridge from there, however, between those who write about and for children and paint them and someone like myself who, as a child psychologist, empirically explores the manifestations and changes in the child's thinking, feeling and behavior and is looking for rules that govern all that. The distance between these two different ways of approaching the nature and growth of a child can be mitigated, however, if we turn the shared element of awareness we all bear within us into the focal point: the "image of the child" as part of the societal, the social awareness in which we all have a part. Being a copy and symbol at once, it works as a naive theory on the nature and behavior of the child, as a norm, reflective or not, and as a principle for our manner of dealing with the child.

What then does the "image of the child" mean? -- Actually, something very plain, to be gathered from answers to questions such as these: What is the child's potential for feeling, judging and understanding? What is the child's place within our life's order of values? Which values are beneath and which are above the child? What rights should we grant children, what duties expect of them? What produces child development, what moves it ahead? For what must children

be equipped so they can one day manage the world we leave to them with success? In our image of the child then, ideas about possibilities and limits congeal with those about the conditions and capacities of child development, about the meaning and value of the child's existence and growth, and about maxims for shaping and directing the child.

The image of the child in our commonwealth belongs to the ideology of a social order which for good reasons may be regarded as friendly to the child. Deficiencies are thereby not precluded, however. Those are what I want to talk about, deliberately leaving aside all acclaiming of our successful achievements. I should like to outline what developmental psychology and behavioral biology are after these days so as to complete, and also to revise, the image of the child. And I also want to raise the question whether or not the image of the child that in a practical sense informs our society conforms with scientific insights.

That intention could align and ally us all, I think, because it is our shared obligation to be our children's agents, i.e., to contribute by whatever means we have to an essentially identical urge toward promoting a more beautiful and productive life and experience for them. We presuppose a unanimity to the effect that the cognitive, volitional and emotive potentials of our children are likely to be the most reliable and the dearest reserve for our productive force for the future--probably much more vital than our material and technical resources, which some people want us to believe are over the long run the overriding values.

Let me start with a downright trivial state of affairs. The children's psychological development takes place within the social range and in the framework of our way of life and culture. That space is filled with requirements and inducements for education and training; "the child develops by being trained and educated," says Rubinstein, the noted Soviet psychologist. We know for certain as a result of much research: without such a space, a human countenance and type and character would and could never and nowhere develop. That is what we mean by the social determinants in psychological development. And this is the basis from which my analysis and discussion start.

Herder already knew it: "Man is born for society!" To us that means today: the child's biological behavioral blueprint is such that it is set and long prepared for individual socialization. Phylogeny has done that. In the transition era from animal to man, it produced the phase of man's social conditioning--a historic event of most ancient prehistory that converted the biological into a social hold on life. Phylogeny gave man--and hence gave the child--capacities for a material and mental embodiment and appropriation that must be regarded as a biological programming for the social way of life. The structural and functional cerebral development testifies to that most compellingly. Another indicator for that advance lies in human speech and its cultural derivatives. No generalized pessimistic confrontation therefore is tenable between the individual's biological indigence on the one side and the culturally conditioned repression of the need for satisfaction, on the other. An occasional, often depressing, "Unbehagen in der Kultur" [Civilization and Its Discontent], to quote Freud, is not constitutive for man per se. Wherever encountered, it is due to a construction error in any given civilization and can be corrected. It may block the individual's self-realization and cause painful conflicts--all the way to pathological psychosomatic conditions. It must be uncovered and eliminated.

One such construction error that aggravates the relationship between the child and society I must comment on in this context. It is widespread, especially in highly industrialized countries. It lies in overlooking, underrating or ignoring some of the child's phylogenetic needs and demands that have nothing directly to do with the capacities for embodiment and appropriation referred to above (i.e. the ability consciously to recognize, to think, learn or fashion). Which of the child's needs and demands are the ones that most of the time fall by the wayside? Anyone who studies the child's behavioral development under the aspect of conflict and fear phenomena will find out soon: they are the boundless urge to move and the need for close bodily contact, which Freud correctly related to the sex drive, and the inclination, connected with it, to form social and emotional bonds with but a few persons the child relates to. Those bonds form the premise for what is sometimes referred to as the warmth of the nesting ground. It is enormously important for the child's protection--given the insecurity, the perilous and menacing experiences of the intellectually still immature and thus often helpless child, this bonded protection--that forms the basis for daring to attack, grasp and shape the environment.

Why now is it that even our own societal or social institutions--the family, the day nursery, the kindergarten and the school--are not without indications of this construction error? That the child must suffer for being denied elemental needs? I have some hunches why that is so and would like to propose them for consideration. My impression is that the Marxist theory on human development is at times still being misunderstood as an empiricistic and intellectualistic milieu and tabula rasa theory. And too frequently I run into an overt or covert mistrust of the kind of anthropology and behavioral biology that call our attention to phylogenetically acquired demands for movement, contact and bonds. And furthermore I suspect that our society's predominant orientation toward cognition, knowledge and performance greatly helps induce a cool and severe rationalism which--if made too much of--can be disastrous for the child. The child simply needs more emotional warmth and societal attention and comfort to get along than we adults do. Only that way can the child get the necessary degree of inner stability that is imperative to be ready later to respond to our society's performance expectations by performance. (Incidentally, and by way of criticism: Are all these performance expectations actually necessary? Take, e.g., our intolerant fetishism about grades that makes life so tough, and not only for the slow learners. Or take the "seduction" of a selected staff of children into accepting the quality standards of high performance sports. And then I ask: may not the acquisition of the abilities to love be as important as that of the abilities to think?).

I now arrive at a second set of problems touched on also by Hans Weber during the November conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt (cf. NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 2, 1982). It also closely connects with the image of the child as defined above. What I have in mind can be suggested by the brief formula "deficit model for the child." This model, used by many people (most of the time without their knowing it or being aware of it), amounts to this: whatever children feel, think and do--being unfinished, they always remain far behind the adults who, a priori, feel more deeply, think more logically and act more systematically. So our job is to turn the child into an adult as fast as possible. There are, no doubt, some merits to the model. It proceeds from the idea of development

and establishes the requirement and ordinary practice of systematic training and education. Having child's play overlap with preschool and school learning and then the intertwining of that learning with productive work are examples of it we all are familiar with and we all approve. Yet the model also implies risks I wish to comment on in the following.

The first risk lies in the evaluation that is inherent in the model. Being an adult is the ideal standard striven for; training and education, as it were, come down to "redeem" the child from being a child. The results are apparent every day and in many places: "My Felix keeps clean already, even at night--finally!"--"Does your child drink out of a cup by now? He doesn't? But that you have to teach him before he gets into the nursery. At his age, that must function!"--"My child can already read books, yours too?" Such remarks reveal three things: A strange devaluation of natural transitional developmental stages, then a clearly revealed contest among the guardians for having the most "grown up" child, and finally the risk of exacting too much from him. (How threatening that is can be seen by the frightfully high number of bed-wetting children--partly because of too exacting demands made and partly because of even inhumane demands for cleanliness.) Yet the adults would not even have to burden the educational process so much with the ideal standards of their mature state. Developmental psychology shows that the adult guardian becomes a model for the child that learns by imitation solely by dint of his existence as perceived--which appears, at least to the smaller infants, as an incarnation of admirable powers. Children as such want to be older, bigger, stronger, smarter and more mature than they happen to be. Anyone who observes the children in their role playing will have no trouble finding that to be so.

A second risk likewise results from the model's evaluation hierarchy. Someone who considers adult maturity so weighty an ideal will all too easily slide into the role of the know-it-all, always superior and condescending educator who lets the power of disposition he has over the child, which cannot be contested in the first place, unscrupulously turn into a preponderance of administrative and restraining measures. Thereby an authoritative educational style is generated interdictory to the child, which completely negates the collective, cooperative aspect of pedagogical processes. Technical psychological literature has gone into detail about its consequences for the formation of character--the child's passivity, his trying to get away with things and his hypocrisy, and even his aggressiveness.

A third risk should interest and concern the writers in particular. The deficit model leads to simply not noticing the child's productivity and creativity in thought and action. We meet this truly marvellous developmental phenomenon in all phases of child growth. Many instructive examples exist: recently, the experimentally demonstrated discursive, that is imperceptual subjective, representation of object characteristics by a 6-month old baby not yet able to speak; systematic experimentation by an 18-month old with his budding locomotive skills; the discovery of principles for the solution of real life problems in the second and third year of life; the inventing of entirely new words due to the infants and preschool children being hard pressed for speech; the spontaneous and free-wheeling drawing of objects and events, not yet encumbered by artistic traditions and convention; or the smooth movement on the as-if level of role playing with creative transformations of reality in service to dramatic designs. The last

two instances span the long creative period between the third and tenth years of life. They and all others document something most essential if one wants to plumb them at greater depth: A child may certainly be our equal, may even leave us behind here and there by what it can do. Should that not suggest a measure of modesty--as prerequisite to an attitude that creates better conditions for the unfolding of the child's potentials? Picasso had something like that in mind when he put his pictures on bullfights together with children's pictures and published them together.

The risks of the model I mentioned are neither invented nor irrelevant to our social reality. He who keeps his eyes and ears open will find abundant evidence for their abounding in practical everyday life. Therefore it would be a good idea to give up the deficit concept definitively and irrevocably. A genuine dialectical development model is needed. Remember Hegel: development is suspension in a threefold sense. First that means that within us adults psychological potentials are preserved that were formed in our childhood. Looked at it like that, the child is our own mirror-image, an opportunity for us to become better familiar with ourselves. And it furthermore means that in the child there are psychological potentials that we have lost when we shed out childhood.

An evaluation different in kind must be discussed within the scope of a third set of problems. My question here is: for which psychological features of the child must we grant an especially high place value and emphatically foster their consolidation and stabilization? I want to be explicit about what I have in mind with this question: I am interested in the child's personality development. And I do understand the concept of personality, with Marx, as a "social quality" of the individual, i.e. as a value and quality characteristic of acts and properties mirrored against the central requirements for ensuring and enhancing societal, social life. There are two different sides to personality development, a normative one, that has to do with the "ought" of our ideals and models, and an empirical one, to be derived from the quiddity of observed development. The instance of developmental circumstances and conditions mediates the two, and that includes training and education.

From where should we get the ideals for personality development? Reasonably, it seems to me, from prognosticating on the needs for living conditions confronting our children once they are grown. And what will they be? No one today is likely to be able to tell us for sure. So we have no other way out but to extrapolate on a long-range basis valid goals and values from our own experience thus far in test situations in our own lives. How can one define such goals and values? Three years ago, I paraphrased them in a publication as follows: "One day the child is to be independent, without our being there and without our guidance. The child is to be able to shape his own life as an adult successfully through socially useful work. The child should agree with his present and future life and affirm both happiness and unhappiness, success as well as failure. Later he ought to be able to fight and ought to want to fight for making truly humane conditions of life prevail; he is to learn that he is nowhere abandoned and gets help when he wants to help others; he is to realize that life has its basis in the common actions by many for the good of the individual. And we should always remember that a good educator becomes redundant through his education, enabling the child no longer to need his mediation some day." This is how I understand the model for the child's personality development.



What then, measured against the frame of reference of such ideas, teaches us the reality of practiced standards and developmental phenomena generated through them? What fits together here and what does not?

So as not to be misunderstood it might make sense at this point to suggest the framework conditions for our way of life that must be there even to admit such standards. Let us mention the key terms: our level of production and consumption, our public health and social welfare successes, our network of nurseries and kindergartens to complement and relieve the family and, last but not least, our concern for preserving a protective shield for all the things referred to, for peace in the world. There is vast evidence, let me add, for a remarkable rapprochement between the ideal and reality. Here some key terms should also suffice: the already mentioned coupling between learning and working processes; the promotion of performance motivation which, though age-specific, always implies an ambitious profile of tasks in our educational plans; and finally the collectively borne and oriented shaping of character.

Again I must not fail to nail down symptoms which are pointing to construction errors--this time possibly leading to the burdening, blocking, even destruction of the child's personality development. And which symptoms occur to me here?

Since I cannot deal with all of them, let me start with a catalogue of problems. I have my doubts about the widespread smugness that assumes we have solved the educational policy problem of a congruence between current education and training goals (as standards as well as in practice) and the future requirements for meeting our tests in the world of tomorrow. I also find one is making a big deal everywhere in espousing independence and self-reliance as an educational goal and making it effective under the normal conditions of the child's existence. I am frightened by the occasionally formulated principle, which usually is only realized in part fortunately, of assigning to all educators a unity of goals and effects. It violates the developmental law of contradiction, it seems to me, and entangles the child in a web of control instances and persons that leaves no margin for decision-making and from which there often is no escape. Nor can I reconcile myself to the fact that the child's mind keeps to be fed with a conventional, indeed an anachronistic, notion of a functional gender distinction causing a false evaluation of himself and others.

I am especially concerned with the model for "independence and self-reliance." That is mainly so because it conforms--as I understand it--with the central objective of our social development: must we not enable the citizen to exercise a critical control over his living conditions--on a mass basis and as a mass phenomenon--in order thereby to release at the same time his productive and creative potential? I believe the weal and woe of our future will largely depend on when and how we attain that goal. In theory and practice, that model has many contradictions, absurdities and uncertainties, I find. I shall now mention a few of them.

Too much is made, it seems to me, of the position of the child as an object in the educational process. E.g., I cannot agree with the statement from a noted pedagogue that the socialist personality evolving in school children and adolescents is marked by the desire "to conform with the growing new and higher

requirements in all spheres of life." Viewed under the aspect of the ideal, I am asking that pedagogue: Should the adolescents not at least critically examine the need for higher demands before they accept them? Are we not doing the same thing? And if we do not do so--should we not make efforts in that direction? What am I driving at? -- I regard education as a cooperation between the educator and the child in solving developmental tasks, as a partnership on the basis of turning the objective content of such tasks into a problem, and this by both partners.

Despite longtime efforts by our educational psychologists toward empirically establishing and enforcing at our schools the principle of instruction oriented to thinking, by and large a receptive acquisition of material still predominates. Storing knowledge often still enjoys a higher place value than the training in flexible and productive thought operations and inferences. That is also true of the expanded secondary school. Anyone who deals with students can tell you a thing or two about that. In the actual educational sphere the situation is still more precarious. In the family and social educational institutions, independence mainly is wanted where it is a matter of the child's taking care of himself, so that the overtaxed educators get relieved--when the children wash themselves and get dressed on their own and get their own breakfast, for instance. Much worse is the situation in fostering mental independence--regarding their own opinions, evaluations, decisions; to keep one's mouth shut, be proper and punctual, adapt and accommodate oneself, in short, being good and well behaving are qualities too many educators ask of our children, and expect and reward, to an extent that is totally out of line with the educational goal of our pedagogics. Indicating doubtful, skeptical or critical arguments make life tougher for many children to be able to cope. That is regrettable and a shame at the same time because a critical question addressed to the father or the teacher could generate reflection and stop premature judgments and make both partners more receptive and hospitable in listening to others and taking them seriously--for the benefit of exercising social exchange and learning well-balanced and prudent argumentation.

The model I advocate--let me add this--conforms with the system of children's needs. Already for the 2-year old we seek and stubbornly insist on independence and self-reliance and seek to make them prevail against any resistance. The adult's enviable autonomy--as it appears from the child's perspective--furnishes the model for it. But this child tendency also depends on a phylogenetically acquired trait of the human species which is called exploration drive by the behavioral biologists. Without that acquisition, showing up in our behavior as curiosity, pleasure in experimenting, critical testing and mental reservation, for the purpose of actively procuring, producing and evaluation information, the ape-man could never have gotten out of his animalistic form of existence. Furthermore we have to consider this: if we induce even infants to take care of themselves, we must not be surprised that they will later draw general inferences from such a posture and seek to acquire intellectual and social independence.

Well considered (even if not unconditional) respect for the need for autonomy, as psychologists know, facilitates the shaping of personality traits we define by concepts such as initiative, pleasure in making decisions and taking risks, a critical acumen, and cognitive productivity and creativeness. Results of

having the autonomy drive frustrated are found in children and adolescents we consider passive, complacent, obsequious, afraid of authority, shunning risks, and unproductive. But the result may also be aggressiveness, when the child has not yet given up his resistance to that frustration. If we want to take steps against the development of the features mentioned last, we must grant the model of independence and self-reliance more weight in the system of our educational objectives.

I started with the image of the child, the idea of its essence and its formative guideline. As suggested by my own professional scientific mode of asking questions and thinking, I mainly wanted to show at which spots critical probing and revisions of the image appear to be necessary. That seemed more important to me than enumerating all that has proven itself and is worth preserving. What I presuppose is that our child image has a share in determining the child's real position in society with all the opportunities and risks, and that a modified child image can make a real difference in improving the child's position. And what do I mean by "improvement" here?

Whatever we may do for it, it will not (and should not) take the child into a Land of Cockaigne. As our own place in society is charged with contradiction, conflicts and tension, it will also always affect the child at equal measure. It is growing into the dialectics of making its way through life, which is painful sometimes but also always exceedingly attractive and activating. Yet we should be capable and willing to make their growing up easier as they are, compared to us, extremely insecure and vulnerable, certainly not by being overly solicitous and by over-indulgence, but simply through assured knowledge about what they need, what they require, in order to be equipped for making demands on others and on themselves later on. Not to a mean extent this task is a real struggle for the emancipation of the child. Each of us should see which of his means are the best for satisfying that task.

5885

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MAROTHY DEFINES PARTY ROLE IN THE ECONOMY, PRAISES SOVIET PAST

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Marothy: "Inheritance and Source"]

[Text] We are remembering an event which created a new historic epoch for mankind, the Great October Socialist Revolution. The social revolution which was victorious in 1917 was the first which did not replace the power of one exploiting class with that of another but rather desired something qualitatively new--it brought into being the power of the exploited, of the oppressed.

Today there is no corner of our earth which is not affected by the force of this history forming revolution. In the past six and a half decades the spirit of the Lenin October has transformed continents, and it is doing so today. It was proven long ago, concerning the Great October Socialist Revolution, that its historic significance is enriched with the passage of decades, with the unfolding of the world revolutionary process.

It is our pride that the forces of Hungarian progress did not remain distant from those forming the events defining the history of the newest age of mankind, did not remain distant from the Russian proletarian revolutionaries. Hundreds of Hungarian prisoners of war joined the Bolshevik party. Tens of thousands participated in the armed battles of the revolution, of the civil war. On the fronts and in the rear Hungarian internationalists took up arms in defense of the first worker-peasant state. We count the deeds of the Hungarians who participated in the Soviet Russian civil war among the most noble historic values laying the foundation for the friendship of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples. The experiences of the Hungarian prisoners of war tempered into revolutionaries in the fire of the Great October were used for the benefit of the first Hungarian proletarian power, the Republic of Councils.

From the first, the fact and inheritance of the Great October prompted the taking of a stand; no one could remain indifferent in the face of it. The positions taken, the opinions--of politicians, statesmen, poets, artists or whoever--may be for it or against it, but one fact cannot be ignored: Socialism, the socialist world system, exists as a factor defining the fate of mankind.

## Tests

When we count up the contemporary achievements of socialism we must admit that never in history did a victorious revolution have six and a half decades so filled with dangers and contradictions. Lenin's statement is true not only of the years immediately after victory but of our age also: "To the degree that the international significance of the revolution increased the fevered uniting of the imperialists of the entire world increased and strengthened also..." From the moment of its birth the international bourgeoisie conducted intervention, a campaign against the first socialist state in the world, finally provoking the second world war, in which the fascist war machine tried to erase the Soviet Union from the face of the earth.

But no army was ever able to reverse the course of history. At the price of heroic sacrifices the Soviet people beat back the attacks of the intervention, broke the fascist military and political forces attacking the forces of the proletarian state and international revolution, and thus opened the road for a new great growth of the progressive movements, of world revolution. Twenty million Soviet citizens sacrificed their lives for this irreversible change, for the annihilation of fascism, the terror of mankind. Workers and peasants, engineers and agronomists, writers, poets, artists, doctors and workers in science remained faithful to the teachings of Lenin and the ideals of internationalism; they fought in the trenches, at the work benches, in the hospitals and on the fields crushed by ceaseless bombing. Thus they became heroes, and immortal.

When in solemn moments memory prompts us to pay our respects, we should compare the lessons of the past with the facts of present reality. The Soviet Union has become a great socialist power, the determining factor of international power relationships. It broke the nuclear blackmail, put a brake on the cold war with its peace policy and became capable, with its consistent activity, of defending the peoples of the world and the existence of mankind from threatening war.

Today the chief force of the struggle being waged for peace, for international security and for social progress is the socialist world system, which has strong allies, the other creative forces of the international revolutionary process--the communist and workers parties of the capitalist countries and the national liberation and progressive movements, the increasing strength of a number of developing countries and the multiplicity of movements with a socialist orientation.

In these six and a half decades the international communist movement has become a social, political force which must be reckoned with in every country in the world. The communist and workers parties wage their struggle for their common goal, for a socialist, communist society, amidst quite different conditions and with many different tactics. It follows from this that debates may arise in the communist movement in connection with the world situation, the directions and chief forces of social progress, and especially in connection with the existing socialism. Our party believes in contacts, exchanges of ideas,

talks, and--when necessary--comradely debates, because all this can contribute to the clarification of important theoretical and practical problems, and on the international scale it can help to find new paths to socialism. We will never give up our principles--for the purity of which our party feels great responsibility. We cultivate our contacts with the communist parties so as to serve not a drawing apart but rather a coming together, to enrich the strength of socialism. Even when we debate it is our sincere desire that our friends should be successful in their countries, that they should lead their societies onto the path of socialist development. We should not forget that the victory of the October Revolution opened, for us as for them, the historic opportunity.

In our day, when the countries of the socialist community are fighting for peace, for a relaxation of international tension, for the preservation of the achievements of detente, this not only ensures the external conditions for their creative socialist work, it also contributes to the world-wide struggle of the forces of democracy and social progress. Preserving the peace and averting nuclear world catastrophe is today the vital question for every people of the world.

Because their ability to take world political initiatives has declined the imperialist policy to regain their positions has started a stepped up attack against the forces of social progress--especially in the sphere of economics and ideology. They hope that, amidst the new and more difficult circumstances, the socialist world system will not be capable of bearing the simultaneous burdens of a forced arms race and conversion to a new developmental phase. The existing socialism is answering this challenge by renewing its economy.

We say--because it is true--that the world and our domestic situation now prompt us to struggle. Meeting with growing problems we often burst out, "It was never so bitter before." But the older ones, the main body of the army today, and those who have studied the history of socialism, they can say that the struggle demanded by life, by historic fate, was never an easy test. The generations before us frequently stood their ground amidst conditions and circumstances many times more difficult.

This is how our life has been; frequently even our indisputable successes become sources of new difficulties and present us with new problems. The age did not spare our predecessors and it does not spare us; to struggle unflinchingly for our goals, this is our only possibility.

#### Our Program--The National Interest

It is a natural human property, in the hours of celebration, to look not only at the past but to try to cast light on our future also. The prospect of tomorrow, which so often seems uncertain, fills many with anxiety for the fate of the homeland, of socialism and of the world. The beginning of the 1980's poses new, great questions on the scale of generations; new progress can be achieved only by answering these questions correctly. It is the fateful undertaking of our people and our nation to decide "what now," to prepare for and proceed on the paths of tomorrow.

Our party and our people assume and make their own the inheritance of socialist construction--do not want another path, want to continue the path followed thus far. To do this we must discover the reserves of our society, must put in motion the driving force of initiatives which create the new. In overcoming our difficulties and solving the ever new contradictions accompanying development we must work in such a way as to strengthen and create anew socialist national unity, at a higher level, in joint thinking and action. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has concrete and long-range ideas about socialist construction in which the renewal of social organizations, communities and institutions will complete the reform processes of economic life.

Today our people expect the party, the communists, to provide an active program, supported on broad public opinion and with a frank analysis of the situation. We cannot lose sight of the fact that socialism can be built only for and with the participation of every honest person who loves the homeland. The solution of our problems also can be imagined only if the link between the party and the masses, based on trust, remains, if socialist democracy becomes stronger, if we succeed in uniting the forces of the nation on the broadest scale. The trust which has developed in society is our great value. Frankness and openness is natural in this atmosphere. All this, in itself, will aid the undertaking and solution of difficulties.

We know that in our work we must frequently reckon with many unknown factors. But experience shows that the broader and more democratic the debate preparing for decisions the less the possibility of error. It is our historical experience that we can achieve our goals only if people participate not only in carrying out but also in formulating and designating the tasks. The party is striving, even amidst our present circumstances, to increase further the participation of working people in the managing of public affairs, in forming the life of smaller and larger communities. Democratic rights are broadly realized in our homeland, but we have much yet to do to give richer content to the system of existing forums.

The unfolding of socialist democracy in our public life is inseparable from a broadening of democracy within the party. When the democratism of party life is restricted--however difficult the times--the political activity of the party membership necessarily decreases, and as a consequence the ability of the party to act decreases also. So the democracy of party life is not a formal slogan for us; it is a constant condition and requirement of the development of party work.

#### For the Public Good

Economic work occupies a crucial place in social life for us as it does everywhere in the world. The explanation is simple: the favorable development of the economic situation also means political success, while an unfavorable change in it can cause serious political problems too. The economy, and the development thereof, is not a goal in itself, rather it is the basis and mover of the many-sided development of the socialist society, serving the development and enrichment of socialist social relationships.

Thus the principle of the priority of politics in the economy requires that we examine every significant question from the political side also. That is, he who decides in an economic question must consider in a fundamental way the political consequences of the decision. The other side of the mutual interdependency is true also. He who decides in a political question has the obligation to reckon with the economic conditions for and consequences of the decisions. For decisions affect people, and he who decides must reckon with the influence they will have on human fates and thinking.

Today the most important area for the realization of the leading role of the party is the economy. The party has the obligation--today more than ever before--of guiding management units and institutions politically, of leading, organizing, aiding and supervising the activities of communists deriving from the political guidance of the economy.

The economic foundations of our society are strong; our country and people are progressing even amidst the more difficult circumstances; united under the leadership of the party they are working so that we can liquidate our present difficulties. At the same time, it cannot be denied that doubt arises as to whether we are capable of holding on to the results we have achieved, for example, the standard of living and full employment. Criticisms of the economic policy have strengthened. All of this shows the increasing responsibility of the party in guiding, organizing and supervising the economy and it indicates new, increased demands being made of the party.

The party must constantly study the development of our economy, primarily from the political side, must uncover the essence of the economic processes and harmonize or rank order the interests recognized. In this way it can create conditions for correct and realizable economic decisions. In doing so the party cannot neglect an analysis of the concrete relationships which have developed in production either. It must study how planning and regulation, the organizational and decision making system, the institutional system of place of work democracy and the functioning of these things help or hinder the attaining of our goals, or how these things should be changed to "serve" better. In its guidance of the economy the first thing the party must do--as a matter of principle--is designate what chief direction the economic leadership should follow in the given situation to achieve the goals, and resolve the problems, contradictions and clashes of interest. We must take care to see that the economic leadership, while being guided by the party, should work independently, in accordance with its own sphere of authority and responsibility.

We feel, however, that the party must act immediately and in every case if it senses a distortion of economic policy or an infringement of the social interest. It must see if the actions of the state or economic leadership correspond to our social program, to the valid economic policy. If this harmony exists then our party will support the activities of the economic leadership with every tool of political work.



## Our Possibilities and Our Responsibility

We are in the stage of building a developed socialist society. There is national agreement and practice has proven that our chief goals are correct and that our basic decisions are realistic. What we have achieved thus far in the building of socialism--including what we have done amidst the more difficult circumstances of recent years--has strengthened the regard for our people beyond our borders also. We have nothing to be ashamed of before anyone in regard to either our achievements or our goals.

The party is realizing an accommodation to the more difficult conditions, methods transformed on the basis of our own experience and a renewed management practice just in order to preserve our achievements and so that we can strengthen the foundations for our further progress. Although there is much uncertainty in the present world situation and although many earlier "truths" have become questionable, our ideals and principles are unchanged. Not for a moment have we lost sight of our socialist goals.

A comparison of present realities and our long-range goals generates for us gigantic tasks which cannot be postponed. Solving them demands from us a Lenin style of work. Because even amidst our everyday problems we must see in Lenin that courageous thinker who did not recognize a question that could not be answered. We must revive the creative debating spirit which imbued his work and days. We must draw again and again from his political experiences, from those methods which characterized him. The example of October and Lenin teach us that communists must be guided in their every step by a consistent attempt to disclose reality, must strive for the fullest possible recognition of the concrete situation and must make decisions on a basis of principle, which in certain cases requires creative debate. This also means that one's views and decisions must be compared with practice and, if necessary, one's earlier ideas must be re-evaluated. And the decision must be followed by determined, consistent action.

The experiences of the path leading to the achievements of socialism thus far and the greater requirements necessary for the solution of the tasks standing before us should both remind every member of our party of the historic timeliness of the Lenin method of work. To think and act in the Lenin way, this is our great opportunity; to strive toward our socialist goals, this is our communist obligation!

Our prospects, the outlines of which we have drawn ourselves and which we will make precise with our deeds, we consider to be attainable and realistic. The chief conditions are given for us to draw nearer to their fulfillment. We see the chief condition in ourselves, in the Hungarian people, in the communists. We worked hard for our achievements thus far, and we will work for the future also.

We were not alone in the course of our socialist building work and we will not be alone hereafter. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community stand beside us, and, even if we are struggling with similar problems,

making use of each others' experience, developing our contacts and our many-sided cooperation will be the indispensable source for solving our problems and for our further progress. The communists of the world are with us; men of good will on the side of social progress support us.

We are given strength by the knowledge that in decades past the Hungarian communists were always capable of recognizing the challenges of history, and, after more or less struggle, they gave an answer to them corresponding to the level of the age. If we erred, we had the courage to face up to it and the strength to correct our errors--and so it will be hereafter. Even now we are open to a re-evaluation of experiences acquired and to a reception of new things. We are ready to carry out the changes which are ripe so that new measures will strengthen the basic values of socialism.

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ROUNDTABLE PANEL DISCUSSES GYPSY STATUS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 82 p 7

[Interview with Laszlo Bojtar, Mrs. Istvan Kozak, Ph.D., Dr Sandor Kormos, Jakab Orsos and Albert Porkolab in Budapest by Jozsef Konya; date not specified]

[Text] The number of Gypsies in our country may be estimated at 320,000 to 340,000. The development of their lot, life and future--in addition to depending on themselves--is the problem and responsibility of society. Gypsy affairs are not the greatest of the social problems to be solved over the long term, requiring continuous and consistent work, but they are perhaps the most complex because of the history, culture and customs of this ethnic group and not least of all the prejudices that still undeniably exist against them.

The Politburo of our party and then the Council of Ministers reviewed the situation of the Hungarian Gypsies most recently in 1979 and passed resolutions regarding the more important tasks for their assimilation. The fulfillment of a resolution reflecting the attention and concern of a society depends primarily on people, frequently people who know frightfully little about the actual problems of today. Most of these problems are no longer the same as they were two or even one decade ago.

How are the Gypsies faring today? How far have they progressed and how far can they continue through their own will and with our help? These problems were discussed in our editorial office by Mrs Istvan Kozak Ph.D. department chief of the Council of Ministers' Office; Laszlo Bojtar, chairman of the Gypsy forum of the HNF [Patriotic People's Front] National Council; Dr Sandor Kormos, department chief in the Ministry of Education; Jakab Orsos, pensioned Gypsy; Albert Porkolab, deputy chairman of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemlen Megye Council; and Jozsef Konya, staff member of NEPSZABADSAG.

NEPSZABADSAG: I hear--at various forums one can often hear--that public opinion is painfully asking: Still the Gypsy question? Some people, undoubtedly on the basis of their experience, have decided that the situation has changed little in the past two decades despite the intent to help and the enormous subsidies....

I. Kozak: Let me interrupt right now on hearing the phrase "enormous subsidies." Many believe that the Gypsies are receiving too many subsidies, for example, they acquire housing more easily and they can build under more favorable conditions. But anyone in similar circumstances can obtain these subsidies. The elimination of living sites that do not meet social requirements is a basic part of our housing policy and does not concern the Gypsies exclusively, if for no other reason than that they are not the only ones living in such sites. I would prefer to say "lived" because one of our greatest achievements is that we have done away with most of the hovels. Twenty years ago 70 percent of the Gypsies were still living, to put it mildly, under bad conditions but today only 13 percent of them are still living at the old sites.

#### Qualitatively Speaking, Other Problems

NEPSZABADSAG: Did they receive these apartments as gifts?

I. Kozak: No, although they received council housing in the same way as any other Hungarian citizen. Many of them built from OTP [National Savings Bank] credit in the framework of various programs similarly available to others or by some other way, that is to say, they have done much to improve their own lot. We are happy to observe that more and more of them are expanding and installing more and more conveniences in their homes, which for the most part are small. This also shows that the desire for a better and more cultured life has grown in the Gypsies.

But let me return with a few words to the Gypsy question that was mentioned-- as an expression of bad taste--at the beginning of our discussion. I too have observed that many people for some reason or another do not see the forest for the trees. Despite the problems that still exist, the situation and lives of the Gypsies in our country have changed a great deal. Qualitatively the problems are different: they are more complex and more differentiated and therefore their solution requires more attention and concern.

A. Porkolab: On the basis of our own example I can only support what has been said. Perhaps it is well known that the majority of Gypsies live in our megye, in Borsod Megye, 65,000 of them, which makes up 8 percent of the megye's total population. The council made a considerable effort to eliminate the 318 Gypsy sites that once existed in Borsod. But the elimination of the remaining dozen or so is causing a different kind of problem. To be sure, quite a number of families are living at these sites. They also have the desire to better themselves but are unable to undertake the OTP credit conditions and charges because of old age, sickness or other reasons. There the council is handling 60 apartments separately and granting some to those who cannot do better on their own.

To keep from making the bride appear too beautiful, I cannot ignore the fact that new dangers, which for the want of a better term we call "blighting," are appearing. Generally the apartments obtained by the Gypsies are very

small but the children grow up and establish families, which remain in the 42-square-meter home. I do not exactly know how, but we must help with this problem also if we do not desire to recreate poor living conditions.

#### Half of the Children Attend Kindergarten

NEPSZABADSAG: It has also often been disputed whether it is rational to develop new Gypsy quarters. Perhaps it would help them to adapt and assimilate if they were to break out of their closed communities.

A. Porkolab: In most cases this is a matter of what is possible, not of intent. It is common knowledge that it is rather difficult to find space in the inner areas of villages. It is not even certain that it would be a good thing because it is no secret that one side or the other has a certain reluctance "to nest together."

I. Kozak: It is not worth debating this. If we want to be of assistance, the Gypsy interest is the important thing. There are settlements where they have remained together and within the village community they have risen to the level of the others; in other places, where they were deliberately dispersed, they lost the ground from under their feet, could not find their place and were not accepted.

NEPSZABADSAG: Has the improvement in living and housing conditions changed the life concept of the Gypsies? Let me point to one example: the school of Gypsy children cannot be a matter of indifference either to the Gypsies themselves or to society because this will influence the jobs that they will hold and their future welfare. Are there still problems about Gypsy children not being enrolled in schools?

S. Kormos: This happens only infrequently. This change came about not primarily through official measures--rather it is related to what you mentioned about the change in a life concept. The great majority of the parents of Gypsy children who are of school age attended school themselves and therefore they regarded it as their obligation, a basic human obligation, to enroll their children. We have achieved this through enlightenment and educational work by social organs and activists. We have achieved good results in education: for example, half of the Gypsy children are attending kindergarten in this school year--and this is a big achievement--but I regard it as even more a matter of substance that 20 percent of them also participated in school preparation activities. In one decade we succeeded in reducing by one half the number of Gypsy children who could not complete general school.

NEPSZABADSAG: Which at the same time means that there are still many who drop out after finishing several grades.

S. Kozak: This is also my view. In education we have achieved less than we could have if the teachers had received more assistance for the education of Gypsy children.

S. Kormos: The problem is that we still have not solved the continuing training of teachers, what is bad in Hungarian education is bad for all pupils, Gypsies and non-Gypsies alike. But it is true that the ill effects are more sharply evident with the Gypsy pupils.

#### Employment and Work Education

NEPSZABADSAG: Formerly there were quite a few classes with Gypsy children only. I assume the pedagogical point of view justified the separation because it is not too understandable from the human point of view at a time when our goal is to make assimilation easier and to help close the gap.

J. Orsos: In no way do I regard the creation of separate Gypsy classes as proper. Let me use myself as an example. When I first entered school, among non-Gypsy children, I could hardly speak 20 or 21 words of Hungarian. Being in the new environment helped me so much: my more developed, better-educated fellows helped me to learn what I did not know. They taught me many things; whatever I could I learned by observation. This is not to say that Gypsy children are intellectually retarded but--to speak in images--they brought empty baskets with them; if I put all those with empty baskets together, nothing good will come. It is substantially better if they live and learn in an environment that will have a good effect on them. I am not sure that separately it is possible to achieve better pedagogical results in handling Gypsy children because I know from my own experience the effect of environment. A teacher who is working conscientiously will achieve more with the Gypsy children or other weak pupils if they are not grouped together.

S. Kormos: Eighty-five thousand Gypsy children are attending general schools, the great majority in mixed classes. From year to year, the number of classes organized expressly for Gypsy pupils is declining. Despite this, Gypsy classes are necessary in some cases, particularly if the difference in level is great among the children starting school; these classes are also justified in settlements with a large Gypsy population. But we are preferably working toward mixed classes. I also regard it as a great achievement--and this is related somewhere to the foregoing--that 40 percent of the Gypsy pupils participate in day-time board and 38 percent of the Gypsy children who are learning a trade live in students' hostels.

NEPSZABADSAG: An appropriate education strongly influences subsequent employment, which is an important link in assimilation or, if you please, a condition of assimilation. I will put the question crudely, but public opinion is not modest: Are the Gypsies work-dodgers?

I. Kozak: I will reply as unambiguously: It is true that there are work-dodgers among the Gypsies as there are among the non-Gypsies--only people regard this more critically in the case of Gypsies. Otherwise we have reached the point--this could not have been said 10 years ago--where Gypsy males are working in a ratio similar to that of the non-Gypsies and the majority of them have permanent jobs. A decade ago 30 percent of the Gypsy women worked, today about one half.

L. Bojtar: In speaking of work, we must dwell on two important matters. One is how well employment has developed among Gypsies and the other is what they do. There is no problem about finding a job, the signs are out everywhere stating where people are being hired, who is needed and for what. We have always concentrated on how the employer can keep a worker although it is much more essential how he--whether Gypsy or not--can be trained to be a good worker. We have made a number of serious mistakes in this matter. It is well known that many enterprises hired Gypsy workers in order to balance the average wage level. What these workers did was not of much interest to these employers, only the fact that in this way they could pay the trained, well-performing skilled worker better. Think about it. What kind of help was time spent in this way to a person so employed?

It is worth investigating our legal position with employment and the progress of the training process. The basic problem is adapting to society is the work relationship, participation in the work community; I fear that we are in a less favorable position in this respect than we are legally.

Let me give a concrete example of how it is possible to do well. Half of the workers in the Kemikal roofing plant are Gypsies. There were serious problems with them, the fluctuation was endless and the factory could not fulfill its plan. Several years ago, however, a new leadership took over the plant; it placed higher requirements on the workers and regarded worker training seriously. Some of the Gypsies quit because of this, but others who took their place remained honorably on the job because they felt that they had a task. It is essential, therefore, to know whether performance is being required or whether they are merely tolerated for political, wage or any other reason.

#### Still Stumbling about at the Bottom

J. Orsos: Again I will bring up my own experiences. The Gypsy stays where he is accepted, supported and trained. I visited, for example, the rolling mill at Ozd, where an incredible number of brown youth work. I talked with them a great deal and learned that most of them had the same kind of problems as any other worker.

They are already at work, we have succeeded in starting them on a path that they will be able to follow. I am not saying that we should not concern ourselves with them but we need to concentrate our strength and attention on those Gypsies who are still stumbling at the bottom--and there are still quite a number of these. Our society including the various social organizations, has done much for these people but we cannot ignore the fact that KISZ and the trade unions have not been active in the execution of the Politburo resolution.

NEPSZABADSAG: Most of the Gypsies live in villages where jobs are not advertised on every fence. Frequently they must go to the other end of the country to work and this affects them not only materially but also in their whole life style. Could more jobs be created for them locally?

A. Porkolab: From the viewpoint of Gypsy employment the upswing in auxiliary workshop activities is important. In Borsod, for example, we started out from zero; it is due mostly to the increased number of auxiliary workshops that 20 percent of the megye's Gypsies are working in agriculture. This is important from the viewpoint of a change in life style, for it is possible to reduce the number of commuters--and I do not need to explain what this means for the family and society.

I. Kozak: The employment of women is also a problem, for it is possible to stimulate interest only where possibilities exist; among other things I mean day nurseries and kindergartens. But we should not forget that half of the Gypsy women are working and many have taken seasonal or incidental work chiefly in agriculture, which can employ unskilled workers. We cannot expect much more than this from Gypsy women, who in general have many children.

Are We Too Modest?

NEPSZABADSAG: Now that it has been mentioned, how has the Gypsy population developed in recent years?

I. Kozak: Despite common belief it has declined for the past several years. Of course, there are families with 10 children, but most of the young people do not want more than 2 or 3 children. This is due partly to the rising state of culture, including health education work--for we have made great progress in this area.

NEPSZABADSAG: I do not mean to list and evaluate the prejudices against the Gypsies. But we must speak of these because they do exist and according to cautious statements on the matter they have not changed much.

L. Bojtár: In addition to the many tasks mentioned here, this perhaps might be the most important--the formation of attitude and the dissolution of prejudices. This is all the more true because as long as society is not receptive to understanding and solving the problems of Gypsies, we can go on passing resolutions but the work will somehow never be done. We are a bit modest in this matter for we do not use the means of effective propaganda--although the lack of information about Gypsy life is surprisingly great.

It is just as important that we bring into public life the Gypsies who merit this and are so inclined. Where I live we have a Gypsy council member to whom, in a certain sense, 2,000 Gypsy inhabitants have entrusted their lot. Let us think of how much this situation will mean in the dissolution of prejudices if this council member actually accomplishes something.

A. Porkolab: We need to prepare them also for a role in public life, to convince them of what it means to be a council member. In our megye we have 105 Gypsy council members and we have not been ashamed to work with them individually so that they could satisfy this trust to the public's satisfaction. On their part they asked for and were glad to receive this help.

I. Kozak: We regularly invite Gypsies into the national coordination committee; more and more intellectuals help Gypsies in their own areas.



Public opinion is aware of only a few of these in the forefront but there are also a considerable number of lesser known workers in the field. It is not necessary to analyze the impact that the intelligentsia can have on the life of a people or group of people.

- S. Kormos: The institutions of public education, above all television, play an important role in the formation of the Gypsy outlook. The Gypsy clubs also have an important role.

NEPSZABADSAG: We could continue talking about a thousand more things and enumerating the clear facts about the changes that have occurred as well as the continuing, clear disadvantages and differences. But we must not forget that in the past two decades the Gypsies have had to close the gap with a society that is not stagnant but changing and moving. That is to say, they have to march at a faster pace in order to reach the level below our society's average. And this "march" is still proceeding.

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PARTY THEORETICAL JOURNAL DISCUSSES POLITICAL FUTURE OF PZPR

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 26-32

[ Article by Augustyn Wajda: "The Political Future of PZPR" ]

[Text] PZPR initiatives aimed at overcoming the social and political crisis stimulate a deeper reflection on the causes of the present state of affairs. As time passes, however, they compel us to reflect, first of all, on those aspects of the party's actions whose effects can be related to the political future of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR].

The functioning of the party as the political subject of the most recent history of the Polish nation is a historical process which has occurred under diversified social conditions. These conditions, though their substance is derived from the program and policy of the party, determine the changing parameters of the latter. Nevertheless, the party's political sovereignty and its role continue to make it the main factor in the shaping of Polish reality.

An essential condition for overcoming the crisis is the suppression, in our society's consciousness, of negative stereotypes and notions concerning PZPR. Quite naturally, the errors and failures of the past lie heavily on the party. But it is a past which, as new practices are initiated and public feelings stabilize, may be subjected to a carefully weighed objective assessment. Such an assessment is indispensable for a better future of our party and country. Traditions and experiences--in all their complexity--must be examined and elucidated in order to aid in the future progress of the party and the tasks of its complete rebirth.

It is true that in the heat of ideological polemics, in an atmosphere of antiparty feelings rekindled by the opposition, when arguments resorted to were emotional rather than rational, PZPR could not be assessed objectively in all its historical dimensions. During a certain period, elements of social criticism and disapproval predominated. Even today, the party is far from glorifying all of its past; however, it does not accept extremely critical assessments of its activity. All that which has proven to be historically justified, productive, and enduring, furnishes arguments that are indispensable for the restoration of its strength, social prestige and

trust. Therefore, we must not allow the achievements of the party and the effects of changes and decisions made under the party's leadership to be lost in critical analyses.

The errors made by PZPR do not refute the general thesis that the interests of the working class have been and will be the determinant of its role and place in our society. These interests are closely linked to our nation's development; the history of the working class is at the same time the history of the nation and reflects the nation's struggle, aspirations, and sacrifices, self-denials, successes and failures. The party has the obligation to consider not only all the stages of socialist construction up to this time but also our country's present political and social reality, including also our country's international situation and its place in a world divided by systems; it also has the obligation to realistically evaluate chances and possibilities and to avoid delusions and easy promises.

Political diagnoses cannot result only from a reaction to a crisis but must create a convincing image, accepted by most of our society, of socialist construction, of the latter's goals, and of the ways to attain them. The principle of the party's role in relation to the state, as well as the concept of political leadership in our society, need a new and creative interpretation. From the perspective of our historical experience we can see quite clearly that the leading role of the party in our society is not only demanded by political theory but required by political practice. Thus, the leading role of the party must be interpreted as a systemic reality and a desired political status and not merely as a subject of legal guarantees. Today we perceive more clearly that an improper or incorrect understanding of this role brings about the loosening of the ties between the party and the working class and society. We must not allow the weakening of the role of the party; on the other hand, we must not place the party above the law and implement its goals in a way that undermines the principles of socialist democracy. Because this gives practice an aspect of voluntary action and makes us lose sight of the social goals of our system. This happens when the party becomes incapable of objectively evaluating social phenomena, or loses its Marxist-Leninist perspective and assessment of the development of a socialist society, overestimates its achievements, and takes no account of difficulties and contradictions.

Under present political conditions, the party's leading role in our society requires, first of all, strengthening of its ideological, moral, and political authority. This is even more necessary today, when large areas of social and spiritual life are excluded from the party's influence, or else have become a subject of ideological and political controversies.

The party's leadership must be manifested not only in the sphere of systemic institutions but also in the process of formation of our society's opinions, attitudes, and feelings. Thus understood, the leading role of the party in our society calls for democratic action that is a result of political considerations.

Especially timely today is again a view of V. Lenin, according to which the methods, forms, and the form of the guiding role of the party depend on historical traditions and on the conditions under which a socialist system happens to be built. These basic recommendations by Lenin demonstrate the universal character of Marxist-Leninist science in relation to concrete tasks and situations. The [basic] principle is the creation of leadership in a way that does not restrict creative search that meets contemporary needs while being a continuation of its historically confirmed forms.

It is necessary to find solutions which will convince our society that PZPR and its ideology form the basis of socialist humanism and system of values and that they are basically opposed to petty bourgeois ideology, a particular model of consumption, and technocratic distortions.

Linking the party more closely than ever with Marxism-Leninism is a condition for the party's being able to fulfill the above tasks, because Marxism-Leninism, while continuing to be the party's theory and ideology, is at the same time the basis of the party's strength. As a theory, it describes and explains reality; as an ideology, it serves a social practice that assures gradual attainment of the goal of a socialist society.

Marxism proves an invaluable and indispensable tool in our analysis and assessment of reality. If used properly and at the right moment, it enables us to discover the sources of failures and weaknesses and to prevent us from committing basic errors. However, the condition here is whether and to what extent PZPR will make use of this tool. I must say that until recently this tool has been insufficiently utilized. Here, both objective and subjective restraints have been involved. Marxist theoreticians have not always hastened to make honest analyses and assessments, and the party has not provided sufficient incentives and encouragement in that respect and has ignored whatever has not corresponded to its concepts of voluntary action.

To continue to develop Marxism and to achieve concretization or make corrections, Marxist theoreticians and intellectuals should utilize not only scientific data but also the experience of social practice. In order to achieve this, the party should inspire and favor honest research which will also consider problems not included in it heretofore but essential from a social viewpoint, and should make known its demand for an in-depth analysis of phenomena which are regarded as important. We cannot forget that the party assumes particular responsibility for Marxism as an ideology and that in this role nothing and nobody can replace the party or help it out. This does not mean that the party has a monopoly on the spreading of Marxism. However, there is no doubt that it is precisely the party that is interested, as no other political power, in a creative development of Marxism, expressing, as it does, the current and prospective interests of the working class. Indeed, the party derives from Marxism its strength and its inspiration for its actions.

In recent years, Marxism in Poland has met with considerable failure. This concerns its role as an ideology and particularly its impact on social awareness. This fact causes well-founded apprehension. However much we should be cheered by the fact that we have a relatively large and well-educated cadre of Marxist theoreticians, the social importance of every idea, and particularly of an ideology, is measured by the number of its convinced and conscious adherents. Meanwhile Marxism, contrary to the activist directives contributed by its creators, has been on the defensive in our country, having been displaced from many areas of social thought and practice. This has been brought about by years of underestimating and even scorning ideological problems in the party, by years of proclaiming narrowly pragmatic slogans whose rallying power dwindled from one day to the next. However, the main source of these phenomena were errors and distortions which reduced the impact of Marxist ideology on the working class and on society. A politically and ideologically significant fact stands out clearly in this tangle of dependences, namely, that the fate of Marxism as an ideology will always be a reflection of the fate of the party. If the party suffers defeat, Marxism will also suffer defeat as a system of values that are represented by the party.

These values have depreciated considerably also as a result of an ideological expansion of the organized political opposition. This expansion has had a particularly devastating effect on the consciousness of the working class. In this area, the party faces difficult long-range tasks. Several decades ago these were formulated by V. Lenin when he spoke of the need to "implant" revolutionary consciousness in the minds of the working class. Has the Leninist formula lost its timeliness today, or has it ceased to be binding under the conditions of a social and political crisis, as some persons are ready to affirm? This question has to be answered decidedly in the negative. The party's obligation today continues to be to "implant" not only classical Marxist knowledge but also the truth about the contemporary problems of socialism and the mechanisms of its creation, including the difficulties and dangers of this process.

The thesis that socialism is built in a constant political and ideological struggle cannot be treated ceremonially. Therefore PZPR must not only struggle to win over those who have doubts about socialism or are disenchanted by some or other errors in its practical implementation, but it must also carry on a determined struggle against the adversaries of socialism. Today the situation in which we have to act has changed radically. Under new circumstances, in a process of political polarization, we must learn to recognize who is our ally and who is our enemy. The party should promptly react to constantly reappearing revisionist tendencies but, on the other hand, must not lose sight of the recurrence of sectarianism and regression to assumptions and theses that have been rejected by the communist movement in the process of its development. While being guided by the principle that whoever does not oppose socialism is our potential ally, we have the obligation as a party to master the difficult art of political and ideological struggle.

In this connection we ought to make sure that in the near future there is an increase in the number of popular works as well as in-depth studies undertaken by social disciplines; in particular, we expect more studies dealing with the theory and experience of the building of socialism as well as with the party's history. In this area considerable help should be provided by, first of all, party scientific centers and party intellectuals.

The place of PZPR in our political system makes the party, in our society's consciousness, synonymous with political authority. The party is regarded as the main creator of this authority. The source of these associations is the fact that the essence of socialist authority is the political rule of the workers' class. The party ought to be both an instrument of this rule and a tool used for the shaping of the means and mechanisms of exercising authority. Thus, if the working class and its party are the promoters of a socialist political system, since they have built and consolidated this system, it is they that constitute the principal powers capable of carrying out a reform and long-range transformation of the system.

In accordance with the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the present form of a political system in Poland cannot be regarded as petrified and unchangeable. On the contrary, the experience of recent years points up the need for a constant search for new values and alternatives that can be utilized to improve the system and make it more effective. This applies particularly to the place of the party in this system and to its functions as regards individual echelons and organizations which constitute the social and political framework of democracy. It is well to remember the words of V. Lenin, who stated: "There is nothing shabbier and more ridiculous from a practical viewpoint than to imagine the future in this respect in a monochromatic, gray color."<sup>1</sup> From the viewpoint of the realities of the present time as well as from the viewpoint of needs and anticipations with regard to the development and shaping of our future, the party's activity aiming at a renewal of systemic mechanisms calls for "application of the basic principles of communism in such a way as to properly modify these principles in detail and to adapt them regularly to national and national-state differences."<sup>2</sup>

This general regularity--despite appearances--is not changed by the introduction of martial law as provided in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. Temporary restrictions on the functioning of some institutions, and the application of strict regulations, do not indicate any stagnation of state structures. Quite the contrary; these [restrictions] aid operative actions in the economic field, and, representing a factor which reorganizes and stabilizes political life, facilitate the preparation and implementation of needed changes.

New political qualities have appeared, together with new forms of concretization, among others, of the concept of a Front of National Understanding [Front Porozumienia Narodowego--FPN]. The idea of the latter requires

successive reevaluations of social attitudes and the adaptation of the political line of PZPR to the emerging possibilities of a political dialogue. The party does not stand aloof from these processes, and does not assume the role of a passive observer. It is a factor which stimulates and releases initiatives needed for the implementation of social and political reforms which conform to the principles of socialism.

To cope with these complex tasks, the party has to reorganize its ranks and to carry out a particular regrouping of its forces in order to attain a maximum degree of internal integration. The political offensive capability of PZPR is, indeed, a function of its ideological and organizational cohesiveness.

The social and political crisis has had a negative impact on all the spheres of party life: it has weakened organizational unity, and has caused confusion and misinterpretation with regard to the organizational and political as well as ideological criteria of PZPR unity. Many of these criteria have lost their Leninist character, and their working class identity has been effaced. An analysis of integration as well as of disintegration factors is, in the present situation, only an introduction to a thorough review of the status of the party with respect to its ideology and political organization. This process should reflect the constant readiness of the party to "verify" its quality, effectiveness, and purity.

Such readiness seems to be indispensable, considering the dependence between the internal mechanisms of the functioning of the party and the totality of its actions with regard to society as well as to individual elements of the political system. The party unity determines the extent of the party's influence and the effects of its functioning in social and political structures. That is why the particular interdependence between the party's effectiveness and the unity of action of all its members cannot be formulated in transitional categories but requires constant examination and care.

The degree of ideological as well as organizational and political unity of PZPR, like that of every Marxist-Leninist party, should be a result of a proper correlation between the political interests of its members and the ways and forms of their implementation. The process of the rebirth of PZPR will, in this context, depend on the degree to which the unification of the political attitudes of the party members is subordinated to the objectives of the party program, in which the determining elements are the interests of the working class.

Proper recognition of difficulties as they arise is indispensable here, because party unity or lack of it is but an expression of convergences or divergences in political ideology which result either from a different interpretation of objectives toward which the party is progressing or from the ways in which it implements these objectives. These dilemmas should be resolved through expressions of opinions by party members who act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the PZPR Statute.

In the light of our experience up to the present time, the need arises to have a nonschematic look at the ideological identity of party members and on the motivational aspect of their membership in PZPR. Because this identity is a state in which individual assessments and ideas approach most closely those values which the party proclaims and popularizes. This [ideological] unity can be only achieved under conditions of a persistent struggle for uniformly shaped attitudes, for the proper ideological mold of party members. The so-called purity of party ranks calls for eliminating from the party ranks all those whose political orientation or ethical and moral attitudes do not correspond to values that are basic for a Marxist-Leninist party.

As indicated by the recent past of PZPR, the social authority of the party depends not so much on the ideas proclaimed by it as, above all, on the extent to which these ideas materialize. Hence, in our society's perception, the party's authority is associated more with individual or group attitudes of its members than with the attractive but long-range objectives of its program. From this fact, practical conclusions can be drawn. They concern a systematic improvement of the quality of the party's membership, and its functioning in changeable social structures; and they concern also the role of basic organizations and local echelons, as well as activists in general.

The quality status of PZPR, the effectiveness of its action and, consequently, the social ideas derived from the functioning of the party, are inseparably linked with the situation and competence of the party apparatus. Earlier critiques during party and general social debates concerned, most frequently, inconsistencies in applying uniform ideological and moral criteria to this group; they also concerned deficiencies in the party's recruitment methods, promotion, rotation, manner of work, etc. Thellist of charges brought against the party apparatus was extensive. Many of these charges were politically justified, though often they were of an extremely subjective nature. This does not alter the fact that the most urgent question for the party continues to be the formulation of clear rules of cadre policy. These are problems of considerable importance, because their solution reflects on many areas of the party's organizational and political activity and, simultaneously, has a real impact on cadre policy in our state. Normalizing actions, already undertaken to this effect by appropriate departments of the Central Committee [KC], aim at eliminating bureaucratic barriers as well as unpredictability and excessive subjectivism in the assessment of the work of party cadres.

Especially negative are social reactions to numerous manifestations of neobourgeois attitudes and behavior of some PZPR members. For PZPR, a campaign against pursuit of private interests, egoism, abuse of official privileges for personal gain, protectionism, etc., should become not only an ideological objective but, in an equal measure, a way to regain our society's trust. Thus, concern about the adequacy of party cadres, and



their legally unquestioned material status, must be included in a nationally accepted social policy and should not evade general social control.

We should also remember that the existence, in a socialist state, of a private small-goods sector together with its peculiar ideological-awareness baggage, produces undesirable results in the sphere of social awareness. Thinking of these matters in narrowly economic categories represents a step toward absolutization of values, at whose roots one can find a prosaic cult of money. In such a situation, is there not a danger of symbiosis of the state administrative factor with the world of the private economy margin? This continues to be an open question--as indicated by life' realities--which arouses concern particularly where we find, at the contact point of mutual penetration of interests of state and small-goods sector, a party member involved in actions that can be variously interpreted from a legal and a party standpoint. The way to overcome the difficulties which confront PZPR today involves stimulation of the political activeness of party masses, and particularly of the working class. This is one of the most important functions whose performance is conditioned by the avant-garde character of the party. A return to the Leninist formula of the party being an avant-garde requires an understanding of the interdependence between the activeness of the working class and the policy of its party.

The nature of these interdependences is today determined by the fact that the Polish working class is not a monolith. The extent of their identification with the program of socialist construction, likewise, varies. There are various reasons for this state of affairs. We cannot fail to perceive among them the ideological baggage of the political opposition which penetrated worker milieus after August 1980. One cannot forget, too, the errors made by the party in the 1970's. In this situation, political activization of the working class is a complex and difficult but nevertheless necessary task. We need continuous discussion, dialogue, persuasion aimed at permanently linking the political aspirations of the workers with the PZPR program. This is a road of strengthening the party's ties with its class, ties which are indispensable for consolidation of socialist authority and productive leadership of PZPR in the life of the entire nation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "On a Caricature of Marxism and on 'Imperialist Economism'," Works, Vol. 23, p. 67.
2. V. I. Lenin, "The Childhood Disease of 'Left-Wing Orientation' in Communism," Works, Vol. 31, p. 78.

9577

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SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW VETERANS' RIGHTS LAW CLARIFIED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Witold Smolarek]

[Text] In May 1982, the Sejm passed a law about veterans' special rights, which will take effect on 1 January 1983. Col Henryk Siekiewicz, director of the Veterans' Office, discussed this issue with PAP.

He stated that the law defines the scope of its obligation. A veteran is one who participated in the fights for the homeland's national and social liberation and independence, and against reaction and fascism. They are also those who participated in the antifascist coalition, resistance fighters, concentration camp prisoners and those who were imprisoned by the fascists for political, national or racial reasons. Combatants are also those who fought for Polish culture during the partitions, participated in the Great October Revolution or taught children in secret during the Nazi occupation.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that those persons qualifying under the law are Polish citizens living in Poland if they are members of ZBoWiD and fulfill the membership conditions. ZBoWiD will establish the conditions for fulfilling the law and the periods of veterans' activity.

The law retained all existing powers, e.g.:

1. It counts the period of a veteran's wartime activity up to his employment. From that period, wartime service is figured into the equation of establishing the level of retirement or pension;
2. It sanctions early retirement up to 5 years; i.e. age 55 for women and age 60 for men;
3. It increases the vacation period by 10 working days (this applies to combatants who are still working);
4. It facilitates the acquisition of retirement or pension under exceptional conditions if the veteran is not entitled to retirement or pension on the basis of individual regulations.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that among the newly defined regulations anticipated for veterans who are still working, it is worth noting the principle confirming the resolution of the issue whereby a veteran who retires two years before he is entitled can do so only through the agreement of the proper administrative organ in the area; this regulation has the purpose of guaranteeing care to a veteran released from his job, and it also guarantees him the possibility of continuing to work under conditions allowing for the full utilization of his qualifications and experience.

A fundamental correction for veterans who have won the right to retire but who have not obtained supplementary funds for a medal or honorary title will receive an award equal in value to that of the medal or title. Article 14 on retirement entitles veterans nearing age 75 to nursing care. Also broadened were the rights of veterans to use the health facilities of every ministry.

Article 18 of the new law has particular meaning for veterans. It grants fare reductions on urban transportation systems, price reductions on apartments purchased from the state, priority in obtaining garden plots from the state and priority in opening private businesses in agricultural areas or the crafts.

To retired or invalid veterans are granted fare reductions up to 50 percent on PKP and PKS, reduced telephone costs, free use of radio and television equipment and reduced costs associated with electricity, gas and heating for domestic use. They are also entitled to reduced costs associated with car registration and motorized wheelchairs.

Bringing the law into reality will require a wide range of regulations defining the principles of the law. Work already is taking place in several ministries to prepare the necessary documents. This work will be completed within the proper deadline.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that after completion of this activity, the question that must be answered is the document setting the basis of this law. Everyone who had used ZBoWiD privileges has received a certificate from the voivodship ZBoWiD authorities. Validity of the certificate stays in force and will be sufficient proof for obtaining the privileges described in the 26 May law.

It is known to me that the ZBoWiD authorities intend to replace the certificate and membership card with a new veteran's card in the future, Combatants will be informed after the appropriate decisions are made.

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PROGRAM, GOALS OF NEW STUDENT ORGANIZATION OUTLINED

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 15-17 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Dariusz Lanocha: "The New Academic Association [NOA]--An Opportunity for the Student Community"; date and place not specified]

[Text] This year's annual plenary conference of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students, usually held on the eve of the inauguration of the academic year at Uniejow, was unusually important to the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] with preparations under way since May, when by decision of the Supreme Council an opportunity was created for the functioning in the Association of the so-called "platforms" to whom has been assigned the task of preparing the Union for the 4th Assembly and of stimulating the community.

It is no secret to anyone that the academic community is today--in polite terms--passive, unfriendly towards every possible organizational structure. The Socialist Union of Polish Students presently organizes up to 20 percent of the students and the work of self-governments is suspended. The Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP] and the Fighting Youth Union [ZMW] which were supposed to initiate activities in the Institutes rapidly became convinced that they could depend upon the support of hardly a handful of enthusiasts--these are the facts.

One can detect many reasons for the lack of student activity. However, no purpose can be served by causing another stir, warding off accusations from all sides. For truth, traditionally already, remains in the middle. Today students are in need of constructivism, ideas and achievements. Existing community organizations, before and after martial law, have not fulfilled their expectations. The Socialist Union of Polish Students 3rd Assembly decision in merging two functions--the socioprofessional and the ideological-educational organizations--did not fare well in either the former or the latter, being unable to reconcile them in daily activities. Anyway, with the passage of time, one became convinced that the community itself does not expect any ideological-educational activity from the student

association, which in such difficult times--is openly adversely received. Satisfactory proof of this was the success, or rather lack of success of the Socialist Union of Students leftist platforms, of which there were many; however, none gained support. Because even the Warsaw Platform of the Nine, and the Polish Union of Academic Youth--"Life," and the Platform of the Wroclaw Left, have gathered around themselves very small groups of active members of the Socialist Union of Polish Students in numbers not exceeding 20 to 30 individuals. These platforms finally agreed on the necessity of appointing a socioprofessional association in the academic community, seeing in it however, more room for a section, let us call it ideological-political.

In Krakow, April marked the initiation of platform activities for the New Academic Association which were instituted with student participation--members and nonmembers of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The National Bureau for Coordination was called into being, at the head of which stood Andrzej Orecki, currently chairman of the District Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [RO SZSP]. In time it gained many followers who prepared a joint program of activities which was fully presented at Uniejow.

The New Academic Association [NOA], demanding the creation of a socio-professional organization precisely stated its objectives and program: "We feel that the program and objectives of our organization should deal with several spheres comprising problems involving student life in school (this includes the whole sphere of sociosurvival problems, as well as scientific and didactic), as well as beyond it (culture, sports, recreation and tourism). A 3rd sphere is economic activity, very essential under today's conditions and next, student matters."

The New Academic Organization is desirous of devoting attention to problems of the young family, employment for graduates. Management of economic activities has as its objective the attainment of the greatest independence possible for the financial organization. The development of epicurism and services, the affording of possibilities to earn a living for its members have been established, while in perspective is aid in the form of scholarships and grants.

"We wish to create an independent organization cadrewise, an independent, decentralized organization, according to plan, which prepares a program and studies finances proceeding from the ranks, possesses a reliable system of control mechanisms relative to higher echelons (...). We shall not conduct ideological activities, but only those proceeding from adopted socioprofessional objectives."

[Initial portion omitted] ... we read in the Program Declaration of the New Academic Association [NOA]. This was specified precisely in the Uniejow Resolution, where the opportunity is being created for the academic Left to operate in other multicomunity youth organizations on the principle of dual membership; whereas in perspective, the opportunity for a separate ideological-educational organization is being created in the academic

community. The New Academic Association's proposition therefore, establishes the mutual integrity of the organizations operating in the community.

Thus, the new model of the student movement should represent as the best variant a triad, consisting of: a socioprofessional organization; an ideological-educational organization; student self-government. This is the best possible variant and over the short term has no opportunity to be fully implemented: the work of self-government, in view of the lack of individual school statutes is suspended; whereas the opportunity for instituting an ideological-educational organization over the near term is limited.

Therefore, a fundamental task of the Socialist Union of Polish Students should be the joint creation of the first segment of the triad mentioned, and this should be accomplished with the participation of nonorganized students working in many branches of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. Student clubs, tourist departments, the academic movement and self-government of student dormitories represent a numerically important membership base for the new organization. Active students there have already said that they would join the socioprofessional association of the 4th Assembly as soon as it is established.

In discussing the form of the new association much space must be devoted to the mechanisms of internal life, as well as to instruments for implementing the program. It is especially important to provide a precise answer to the question--how? The matter on which attention has already been focused, is the necessity for great decentralization of authorizations and responsibilities. It is also the simplification of regulations and financial mechanisms in order to eliminate barriers to the implementation of new concepts and social initiatives. Also the manner of electing officials and the undertaking of decisions on organizational levels should be such that every active group of the new association could exercise influence on its policies and all essential decisions. For it will be only then, when authority will have been vested in the representatives of tourist, sporting, cultural and academic clubs and other branches that their decisions will be rendered in a natural manner and conform to basic matters and problems of the association's membership.

Therefore, the plenum of the Supreme Council at Uniejow constituted a forum for discussion on the program of the future association. It was agreed that it would be a student association, but not for students, which leads to definite preferences associated with membership; that it would be an association of active and not passive people. The principle of passive membership widely used in other organizational structures will not stand for strength in the new association.

This might sound immodest, but the outcome of the plenum was a success for the Krakow Association of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The votes of our delegates aroused the greatest approval of the assembly and individual communities. For these were specific and planned pronouncements and were anticipated by the students. Likewise, the resolutions and decisions which

were passed were practically identical with the Krakow propositions prepared earlier by the New Academic Association platforms. Work on documents, which had been prepared for the 4th Assembly is already in progress in the planning group appointed at Uniejow. With the collaboration of experts from individual spheres of student activity, work is being conducted on the statutes, structure and areas of function of each branch of the New Academic Association. In short, something new is taking place.

Meanwhile, the mass media remains silent. It was clearly written in the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party [KC PZPR] dedicated to youth matters, that youth organizations are to be treated impartially and equitably. Hence, this likewise concerned the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]. But it would be futile to seek comprehensive press announcements from the Uniejow Plenum even while it is resolving such important issues. By declaration, the party is not indifferent towards the affairs of the student community; furthermore, this community with its criticisms, knowledge and ambitions can be very useful to the party.

However, of what benefit is it when the information published by the Polish Press Agency [PAP] concerning the Plenum simply aroused the community with falsehoods. The statement that the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] at Uniejow decided to combine three functions: the socioprofessional, the ideological-educational and the student self-rule organizations is simply a falsehood.

It is difficult while functioning under such circumstances to create new ones. Much of the hard work of students, sometimes in the first and second year, hoping to build a community socioprofessional organization, almost came to naught because of a single, less-than-accurate communique. At one of the plenary sessions of the School Committee of the Policy United Worker's Party Jagiellonian University [PZPR UJ], the argument was expressed that the academic community is particularly sensitive to such facts. But after all the opportunity always exists for its greater activation. Young people wish to jointly organize outings, cultural entertainment and occupy themselves with many student walks of life. In order to create such opportunities, they have already given much of themselves--as they say--they will give more. They wish only that no one place a barricade before them on the road to building a better, authentic, general understanding of the student.

9951

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## ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY PARACHUTISTS DESCRIBED

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Sep 82 pp 6-8

[Article by Captain C. Struna: "Parachutists"]

[Text] 1. The 535th Jump

Now I know for sure. His voice is always quiet, gentle, and his whole being radiates a separate sensitivity. A definite thing and it is not simple to discern at first glance in his make-up, which has a number of facets with gentleness and poetry, this man who has made courage a profession. His biography can be summed up in three sentences. But, it can also be a huge source of inspiration for an author who would want to dedicate a novel to military parachutists. A battalion commander, a class-I military parachutist, Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu's number-one concern now is gaining his sixth outstanding sub-unit award. It is difficult to get him to talk about himself. "My satisfaction and concerns stem from the troops that I train and educate, these deserving defenders of our country whose deeds and virtues shine like diamonds. Write about them. Or, write about Lieutenant Major Dan Macovei, about lieutenants Vasile Ghinea, Silviu Moraru and Constantin Ghilic, communists and members of the Union of Communist Youth who are filled with the awareness of the noble mission entrusted to them."

When he was a lieutenant, Teodor Minciunescu "tasted" the sharp air of the altitudes as a commander of a mountain infantry platoon. There he worked hard. He climbed steep slopes. On very hot days, he felt the line of the shadows, and he went through awful winters when the ice was vicious. Trembling, he slipped over bottomless chasms hanging from a cableline that vibrated like an instrument, emitting a strange music. It was then, perhaps, that the sharp desire was born in him to master the altitudes of the sky, elegantly crossing the first light of day like a knight of the air despite the gravitational force of the earth. He remembers every detail of his first jump with all its intrigue and in perfect harmony with his spirit during those unique moments. "Each jump is a new experience, an act that cannot be repeated. Because others are continually human feelings, because others are always of the physical parameters of the flight, the atmosphere and the land at that particular time."

The aircraft that I entered has gone beyond the 1,000 meter level. The aircraft ahead of us has already dropped some of the troops. It is raining very heavily.



When the door is opened, we have before us a fascinating view - a mixture of forms and boiling colors, billowing clouds filled with rain. The broiling gray forms are threatening. Wave after wave of soaking rain continues, currents rise and current descend. Like well-polished tobaggans, these military parachutists, equipped with their weapons and containers, disappear into the liquid flood and are absorbed by a gust of powerful wind. First to go are the group commanders: corporals Neculai Stan and Ion Dinu; then the soldiers Ovidiu Nour, Vasile Dezsi, Marin Maruntelu and Constantin Toma - all with over eight actual jumps. Now the battalion commander leaves the aircraft. For him it is his 535th jump. The tactical situation is not at all friendly: mountains, forests, rocks, dangerous slopes and chasms. Adventurers of the sky, trained to act under any type of landing conditions, any type of weather, day or night as outlined by the requirements of the directives of the supreme commander, forged by the school of tactical exercises and in forced marches, these men will have to fight an even more dangerous enemy until they feel the solid earth beneath their feet - a wind blowing at over 15 meters per second. Wind, rain and reduced visibility. Guiding the parachute requires a type of effort close to mastery, to perfection. Certainly, after eight jumps no one claims to have these qualities. They all, however, feel in their blood the decisiveness to make it, to get past any obstacle in order to fulfill the mission at the highest possible rating. Thus, they carry out their duty to the country, and prepare to be ready at any time to defend the country's independence and freedom. The drop zone is a small one, allowing for a quick regrouping and setting-up along the ordered deployment lines. Soon, they hear the echoes of shooting and the explosions that announce the start of the "battle." Equally good shots (Lieutenant Valentin Jerca tells us that in their last firing training with infantry weapons the sub-unit got the highest rating, while saving 40 percent of the munitions involved), the parachutists put up a strong resistance to the enemy soldiers and armored vehicles during the battle, forcing the enemy to give up ground inch by inch. Thus, for Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu this was the 535th jump. For each of the 535 jumps everything went normally, not a single incident upset the hundreds of descents, and never did this officer have to use his reserve parachute. This in itself does not represent an achievement since there are military parachutists with over 1,000 jumps who have nothing to say under the chapter of airborne mishaps. This is a clear picture of what it means to talk about exemplary specialized training, the education of desire and reflexes, faith in the parachute materials and courage understood as a knowing act of confronting danger and consistent action under risky conditions. "Courage involves not the absence of fear, but mastering and going beyond it," says the officer to the troops he trains. And, it is normal for this experienced communist to train these military parachutists not to fear anything more than... fear.

It would be rare, however, for the military parachutists to never have some trouble with the landing. And this is due to the complex circumstances under which jumps are made: in the dark, in mountains or over water, under difficult weather conditions, at aircraft speeds of over 300 kph, and so forth. Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu remembers: "In a tactical exercise, in order to carry out certain missions along the seacoast we had to land in the water. A

storm came up out of a clear sky, the sea was boiling and giant waves were furiously sweeping everything in their path. We were equipped with life vests and one-man life boats. Upon hitting the water, a very strong wave hit me and tore the boat away, tearing it to pieces. I held on using only my life vest for several hours, while protecting my parachute and my weapon, until a boat came by and picked me up... Another time, we were dropped into an unknown mountainous region in the middle of the night. In the dark, your degree of attention in the air is heightened so as to miss hazards. Similarly, you have to be looking in all directions when you land since the ground comes up instantaneously in the middle of the night. After regrouping, we received orders over the radio to urgently move to a point located 50 km away. The continuous training and the mountain lessons presented by the personnel in the unit, who were instructed by the mountain climbing master Emilian Cristea, were of a real use to use in carrying out this mission."

As a witness to jump 535 by Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu, I acquired an understanding that these military parachutists are some modern heroes in the socialist era which we are building, people continuing the legends of Icarus and Dedalus, people among people who come as close as reality to the perennial dream of man to break free of gravity's bonds.

## 2. The Jump - An Unfinished Poem

Corporal Dorel Dinache, a graduate of a railroad industrial high school, is the commander of an anti-tank grenade launcher. He has made nine jumps in the army during training and exercises, and overall he has made 190 jumps. Parachuting is his hobby, with sleepless nights when he imagines hundreds of canopies floating in the blue and the sharp desire to conquering the fear of heights... On 26 April 1979, after just turning 16 years old and with a fear but also ambition, he received his baptism of the air at the Clinceni aeroclub. The years since then, although few in number, have given him unimagined satisfaction: participation in the "Daciada" sports competition in the national championship for jumping to a fixed point, inclusion in the group for certain air acrobatic competitions and so forth. "The Cup of Romania" for parachuting for this year (acrobatics and fixed point) is one of the competitions where he has a chance for a title. These results were not the things on his mind for a single moment in the theoretical and practical training carried out in the unit. The launcher crew that he commands, composed of Union of Communist Youth members Constantin Moise, Ionel Vasii and Gheorghe Buta, helped get the sub-unit a "very good" rating both for the firing sessions and for the instructional jumps, after which they were ranked as military parachutists. This was also due to the personal example set by Corporal Dinache. How many dozens of hours did they work together in ground parachute training! The jump begins at the special facilities and equipment (the trainer, the acrobatic wheel and boat, the rotating swing, the progressive jump steps and so forth) which reproduce the jump. Here, the perspiration comes in waves, to use Corporal Dinache's words. Here, the movements in the air are rehearsed until they are a reflex action. Here, during the training they carry out over one hundred jumps on the simulator, with the shock of each amplified and making

life more beautiful and easier for the time under the real canopy of the parachute. The elastic net, the physical exercises, the harnesses, the combat and the sports in general make the military parachutist tough and prepare him for the battle under any conditions. These soldiers can also survive absolutely unforeseeable situations that depend upon the indecipherable dynamics of the atmosphere. This was the case of a soldier who jumped from 1,000 meters. After entering an updraft, he went up to over 3,000 meters, and travelled laterally approximately 10 kms. One hour. That was the length of his drifting "trip" - a period during which the parachute could not be controlled. The soldier kept his cool, stoically endured the aerial dangers and immediately took control of the parachute after he came out of the turbulent area, landing in good shape. "That fraction of a second in which we must make a decision is given to us in our training and is integrated in our biological rhythm. In acrobatic sports jumps, in just several seconds I have to complete six figures while in free fall. Everything is possible, but only through work and more work. The party organization, the youth organization in the sub-unit and the commanders have delicately gotten into the soul of the people and given them the perennial values of our socialist ethics."

The most generous gesture that Corporal Dorel Dinache can make to thank his commanders and all those who, by example and their words, with their hearts and culture, gave him these virtues and molded his life is his future project: to become an officer and to return to the unit. And, this is so because parachuting is his life and because the jump is an unfinished poem that is composed in the sky and comes to the ground to be recited in the quiet of the hours of meditation.

### 3. The Sky of a Thousand Suns

Major Nicolae Stancu is considered one of a kind. Certainly if this is understood to mean a man who always knows what, why and how he wants things. Always in the middle of the troops, the way the secretary of the party base organization should be, he takes the time to talk (day after day) with nearly all his troops. Just to hear him speak: "How do we stand with the artistic group?" Soldier Liviu Codescu, a talented recitalist and a key person in the cultural affairs in the sub-unit, immediately gives him the details: the final details are being made for the group's program, they will also have some guitar music and so forth. (Later, at the unit's club I saw the artistic group's captivating program and I can say with all sincerity that I witnessed some at-ease, inspired amateur artists at work, elegantly moving about the stage. The program, with a profound educational nature, was based upon the specific problems of the life of this group, even using names when it was necessary,) Major Stancu then went to a work shop in the unit to see when they would finish working on a device for taking a correct aiming line, a device designed by Corporal Toma Avram and soldier Valeriu Bragagiu. He has a leisurely discussion with soldier Constantin Hopirtean who, although he has made a number of jumps, still has emotions and hesitations when the jump door opens on the aircraft. Major Stancu admits: "It is natural, I understand it. There is no incident in the air that cannot be resolved. And, the troops well know the procedures they must follow in each case. The party organization is designed to fortify them psychologically

so as not to be easily shaken up. The troops know that if they have a worry or if something is bothering them they have the right, and this is even recommended to them, not to jump. We have great faith in our people, this dispels the fear, gives them security and strength, and reinforces their manliness. We criticize and praise in the party meetings, but we criticize and praise face-to-face. They are received in the group and among the young personnel with understanding and warmth. Lieutenant Petre Dumitru, the commander of a mortar platoon, had just made his acclimation flight. When he saw how his comrades made their jump, his shirt was covered with perspiration, but he will become a good paratrooper. I felt he had the stuff."

Ten years ago, the brave secretary of the base party organization moved into the base a team of sport parachutists that was later affiliated with the Romanian Federation of Parachuting. Among the 580 jumps made by Stancu are several dozen good ones as sport jumps. Elite military parachutists, like his colleague Captain Ion Badoiu and himself, Stancu also has among his personal records a participation in the international jump competition for fixed point (in France), where the Romanian team placed in the top spot. He has also been involved in testing, operations that require great responsibility and courage. The high degree of steering techniques that he has mastered has given him the right (a right held by only several officers in the unit) to make jumps using high performance parachutes (completely different from the other ones since they operate on the principle of aerodynamic lift). This is done not for daring, but for maintaining and consolidating their skills. After he lights a cigarette, Major Stancu tells us, "I am not made of rock. Each jump is a struggle with ourselves, and we have also lived moments of tension... Of my own fault. I did not correctly leave the aircraft, my foot got into a riser and the pack wrapped around me like a bobbin. No way would be parachute open. In this situation, I could not even use the reserve parachute. Do not think this strange, but I broke out in a smile. This I cannot forget. With a great deal of calm, I untangled the pack cover and at 400 meters I pulled the reserve chute... What cannot be told is the joy that we experience, the thirst for flight that consumes us, the state of euphoria that gets us when, up above us, the canopy opens like an immense flower and we float above a fairy-tale world..."

On a fiery horizon, the sun announces a new day. Above the airfield, aircraft fly grouped together in formations with military parachutists onboard. Soon, the crystal heights will be decorated festively with a thousand suns.

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## LINGUISTIC UNITY OF MOLDAVIANS, WALLACHIANS

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 12 Nov 82 pp 6, 7

/Article by N. Stoicescu: "The Keen Awareness That Dominates the Romanians' History"/

/Text/ One of the fundamental postulates of Romanian history, toward which the party leadership consistently directs the historians' investigative and productive efforts, a postulate strikingly presented once again by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, is summed up in the idea that from the most ancient times the Romanian people have been characterized by "awareness of their common origin and the desire to unite in a single state" and that in the medieval period "The Romanian people's self-awareness was formed, awareness of the continuity and unity of origin and culture of all inhabitants of the three principalities." That awareness is apparent from their very name, Romanian from Romanus, since they are the only people of Latin origin that bear witness to their origin by their name. Therefore awareness of their common Roman origin, in which the Romanian people have always taken pride, was the first form of awareness of their unity of kinship. It was recorded back in 1404 when Ioan, archbishop of Sultanyeh, noted in his treatise on geography that "The Romanians boast of being Romans and it is evident in their language, for they talk like the Romans." The testimony of the Italian Della Valle is very convincing to the same effect. He learned in 1532 from the monks living in Dealu Monastery that the Romanians "call themselves Romans in their language, saying they came from Rome in ancient times to settle in this country." And so from then on knowledge of their Roman origin and their own consequent awareness of their unity of kinship were basic to the idea of the Romanity of the Romanians repeated in the accounts of the foreign travelers and scholars.

The historian Eugen Stanescu says, "In medieval history the name of the Romanian people and their country embodies in a single symbol what came before national awareness, namely their awareness of kinship, a basic form of social awareness in the Romanian Middle Ages. Uniform and homogeneous, the Romanians' awareness of kinship takes three characteristic forms, namely awareness of unity of kinship and language, illustrated by the Romanian people's very name considered in

the evolution of its meanings; awareness of geographic unity, illustrated by the name of the country, Romania; and awareness of the common origin, illustrated by the equivalence of Romanus and Romanian."

Proofs of the Romanians' awareness of their common origin and unity of kinship are multiplied after the middle of the 16th century. While the Italian humanists specified the Latin origin of the Romanian language and the Roman origin of the Romanian people, leaving only the Romanians' unity of kinship to be understood without explicitly confirming it, the idea of unity of kinship began to be expressly stated after 1540, either together with that of origin or separately. Thus in 1542 Petru Perembski, Queen Isabella's secretary, wrote in reference to the Transylvanian cities occupied by Moldavian and Wallachian troops that "Some Wallachians are occupying a large part of the country. Those regions readily defected because of the community of language." It is certainly no coincidence that G. Martinuzzi reported at the same time that "It has long been the Transylvanians' intention to be separated from this Kingdom of Hungary." At about the same time the scholar Nicolaus Olahus noted in his turn that "The Moldavians have the same language, customs and religion as the Wallachians. They differ somewhat in their clothing alone."

In 1574 the Frenchman Pierre Lescapier in turn supported the unity of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania on the ground that their inhabitants were descendants of the Roman colonists "and they call their language Romanian, that is Roman." Ten years later Franco Sivori, the Italian secretary of Petru Voda Cercel who was very familiar with the local facts, also said the Wallachians and Moldavians "are of the same stock."

Whether the Moldavian Slavic-language chroniclers of the 16th century (Macarie, Eftimie and Azarie) were aware of the unity of kinship is a problem not yet discussed in Romanian historiography. Short of declaring themselves explicitly, as the 17th century chroniclers were to do later on, they recognized the Wallachians' unity of kinship with the Moldavians in the terminology they used for the two countries, which they called Moldovlahia and Ungrovlahia, or both Wallachias, that is the Romanian Lands.

The Romanian-language religious books printed in the second half of the 16th century by Deacon Coresi and his followers, which were not addressed to the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians but to the Romanians, or the Romanian people in their entirety, played an important part in the development of the idea of unity. And of course we must not overlook the fact that at the same time the Romanian language began to replace Church Slavic even in the documents of the princes' offices in Moldavia and Wallachia, especially in Mihai Viteazul's time.

Mihai's glorious reign was an important point in the development of the idea of Romanian unity. He achieved the first political unification of the three Romanian Lands, Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, "restoring the Romanian people's uniform political structure in keeping with their real unity," as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out.

Note that two plans of action were open to Mihai Viteazul after the defeat of the Turks, the Dacian and the Balkan ones, and the prince was insistently solicited by the inhabitants south of the Danube (Bulgarians, Greeks etc.), who even

promised him the Byzantine emperors' throne. But the great prince chose the Dacian plan and became the Restitutor Daciae by uniting the three Romanian Lands on the territory of the former Dacia. How is that choice to be explained? Primarily by awareness of unity of kinship, a powerful force at the time. The sources contemporary with Mihai's reign report that the great prince encouraged his troops under the difficult circumstances by asking them "to acquit themselves courageously for the glory of their nation and that of the Romans, from whom they claimed descent." In their turn the Wallachian boyars of the time wrote the Moldavian boyars that "We are all of one law and one language," eloquent evidence of awareness of unity of kinship.

Moreover not only the Romanians but also the foreigners of the time, who were impressed by the great prince's glorious deeds, knew that the Romanians were a single people. For example, the Italian Lazaro Soranzo wrote in 1598, "I Transilvani insieme con i Moldaui e con i Valacchi sono gli antichi Daci, tanto temuti da Romani," and the Hungarian bishop Nicolae Istvanffy, a diplomat in the service of Rudolf II, stated that "Duas Valachias, quae hoc tempore Moldaviae et Transalpiniae nomine censentur, simul cum Transilvania, veteres uno Daciae nomine appellabant."

At the news of Mihai Viteazul's entry into Transylvania there were veritable explosions of popular feelings of Romanian solidarity based on awareness of unity of kinship. As the chronicler Szamoskozy said, "The Romanians, who are settled in villages throughout Transylvania..., joined the men of the same origin who had crossed the Carpathians and rebelled everywhere, full of the confidence with which a prince of their people inspired them." The same thing was reported by another contemporary chronicler, a Saxon this time named G. Kraus: "The Romanians rebelled then because the tyrant Mihai was of their people, namely a Romanian."

There was a similar situation in Moldavia, where "The Moldavians rebelled and turned their weapons against Ieremia Movila in support of Mihai." The peasants' desertion to Mihai's side in both Transylvania and Moldavia demonstrates that we have to do with a manifestation of Romanian solidarity, a proof that there was an awareness of unity of kinship.

Furthermore the Transylvanian Romanians' unity of kinship with those in Wallachia was also known to Gen G. Basta, who wrote in January 1600 that Mihai Viteazul "is sending his priests to all the villages on the borders of the country that are inhabited by his people (habitati dalla sua nazione), which gives me pause." And finally, there are the words of the chronicler Biselius, an admirer of Mihai Viteazul's, about this same unity: "For who is closer to a Transylvanian than the Romanian in the vicinity?... For they are of the same blood, the same origin, and the same name: They are all Dacians."

Therefore Mihai Viteazul's unification was based upon a Romanian solidarity born of awareness that the Romanians belonged to the same people. In the light of this fact, some foreign historians' statements that Mihai Viteazul was a conqueror who waged "typical wars of invasion" are entirely unfounded and downright insulting to the history of the Romanian people. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History itself has confirmed the correctness and objective necessity of Mihai Viteazul's act by the later fulfillment of his ideal, the ideal of all Romanians, and by the achievement of the single Romanian national state in the modern period."



After Mihai Viteazul's treacherous murder, the great prince became the symbol of the unity of kinship of the Romanians whom he had united for the first time under his scepter. Nicolae Iorga said, "After 1600 no Romanian could think of the unification without his great personality, without his broadsword or halberd raised to the heaven of justice, or without his image in a pure and perfect tragic poem."

The origin of the most important manifestation of social awareness in the 17th century, the transformation of the Romanian people's awareness of unity of kinship and language into a militant and active idea that was to dominate the chroniclers' activity in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century, is to be sought in the influence of the war of liberation from Ottoman domination waged by the great prince at the close of the 16th century.

Here follow only a few of the many examples proving the generalization of awareness of unity of kinship. In "The Response to the Calvinist Catechism" of 1643 Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia addressed "the Christians in Transylvania... and Romanians of one people with us wherever they are in the regions of Transylvania where you are in one faith with us." The same learned metropolitan's "Romanian Instruction Book" is addressed "to the whole Romanian nationality, wherever there are believers, in that language." It was considered "a gift to the Romanian language, a book in the Romanian language," and it was widely circulated in the Romanian Lands. Turning to Wallachia, we shall mention that Serban Cantacuzino's "Gospel" of 1682, also widely circulated, was printed "for better understanding of the Romanian language." As Eugen Stanesco noted, the idea of a "Romanian people" is found 29 times in 18 publications between 1639 and 1656 and 74 times in 30 publications appearing between 1673 and 1699, which is significant for the development of awareness of unity of kinship in all three countries inhabited by Romanians. It is interesting to note that in this period "the Romanian people" are associated with the idea of a "Romanian language," because the scholars of the period knew that the entire people spoke the same language. For example in the preface to the "Gospel Teacher" of 1642 Udriste Nasturel said that he made the translation "into the Romanian language" to help "our people." In 1685 the priest Ioan din Vint translated a book "into the Romanian language for the use and benefit of our Romanian people," and concerning the "Bible" of 1688 attributed to Serban Cantacuzino (a collective work of some scholars in Wallachia and Moldavia and an important monument of the Romanian language), it says on the title page that it was published "for understanding of the Romanian language" and that "It was dedicated to the Romanian people for their common benefit."

As Nicolae Iorga noted the Brancoveanu publications were intended "for our Romanian nation," "for the common benefit of the Romanian people," "for our Romanian people," and "for a whole people, Romanians, Moldavians and Ungro-Wallachians" (that is the Romanians in Hungary). As the great historian noted, "all three branches of the Romanians" were represented in the intensive publishing effort in Constantin Brancoveanu's time: Mitrofan, Bishop of Buzau, a native of Biseri-cani in Moldavia, Atanasie the Moldavian, Mihai Istanovici, a native of Transylvania, etc. The preface is very interesting of the book "Chiriadodromion," published in Alba Iulia in 1699 at Constantin Brancoveanu's expense following Varlaam's "Sermon" of 1643, "for the use and enlightenment of our Romanian people," because the prince of Wallachia did not forget "the Romanian people" in Transylvania. Other such books published in the 17th century speak with pride of the "Romanian nation," "Romanian nationality" and "Romanian people."



Much credit for consolidating and substantiating the Romanians' awareness of unity of kinship is due the Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers, who greatly intensified the development of that awareness by use of both the local traditions and the writings of the foreign humanists who supported the Romanians' Roman origin and unity of kinship. As it was noted, "By historically and linguistically substantiating the self-awareness of the Romanian people throughout their whole ancestral land, they (the chroniclers) started a process of ideological and political clarification and hastened the definitive crystallization of the national consciousness." Concerning their contribution, which has been minutely studied by great personalities of Romanian historical science, we shall try to make a few documentary and interpretive contributions on another occasion.

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## ROMANIA

### INCREASED INTEREST IN ROMANIAN HISTORY ABROAD NOTED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 12 Nov 82 p 7

[Article by Dr Lucian Boia: "Romanian Historiography in the World"]

[Text] The achievements of Romanian historiography are now being followed with increased interest in all quarters of the globe. There is unquestionably a tradition here. Historians like Dimitrie Cantemir, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga and G. I Bratianu, to name only a few out of a whole constellation, often addressed themselves to the foreign public in works of wide reknown, making Romania's past, intellectual contribution and legitimate aspirations known. But those were primarily individual accomplishments of great personalities. Historiographical relations with the rest of the world, especially since 1965, have been intensified under other circumstances. It is a matter of coordinated amplification in pursuance of a number of specific objectives and involving a large number of researchers.

Special emphasis has also been placed upon the basic problems of Romania's past (with not only historical but also current political implications) like that of the formation of the Romanian people and their uninterrupted continuity on Romanian soil (with strictly justified opposition to the unscientific theories that try to deny those facts), the uniformity of Romania's entire historical evolution, the ceaseless struggle to preserve the national existence and for independence and unity, etc.

Romanian historians have attended many international meetings, making the achievements and viewpoints of Romanian historiography known. Note the fact (eloquent for the greater prestige of Romanian science in the world and for Romania's international position in general) that many of those scientific meetings and some of the most important ones were hosted by Romania itself. Of course that is particularly true of the International Congress of Historical Sciences (Bucharest, August 1980) which, following the noteworthy participation of Romanian historians in the previous world congresses (Rome, 1955; Stockholm, 1960; Vienna, 1965; Moscow, 1970; and San Francisco, 1975), marked a high point in historiographical activity throughout a decade and a half.

Historical demography is one of the newest and most dynamic fields of contemporary historiography. The International Commission for Historical Demography is chaired by a Romanian historian, Academician Stefan Pascu. A new commission was founded in August 1980, at Romania's suggestion and with adequate representation of the Romanian historical front, namely the International Commission for History of Historiography, which is already publishing, in Milan, an international journal in four languages that is also widely open to Romanian specialists.

Works have been published in the world languages in the Biblioteca Historica Romaniaae, whose titles cover a vast subject matter and practically all the more important periods and problems of Romanian history. Scientific articles on history in world languages also appear in REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE, REVUE DES ETUDES SUD-EST EUROPEENES, and more recently in ANALELE UNIVERSITATII BUCURESTI, SERIA ISTORIE.

Another significant fact is the increased number of historians who, in various countries of the world, are taking an interest in Romanian history and often devoting an essential part of their activity to it. Some of them, who were specialized in Romania, are authors of very valuable scientific studies advancing views close to or even identical with those of Romanian historiography. To cite only one example out of several possible ones, the studies are well known of the American historian Keith Hitchins on the Romanian national movement in Transylvania. Note also the growing number of foreign candidates for doctorates at Romanian faculties and institutes, eloquent evidence of the prestige of Romanian science and the interest in the history of the Romanian people.

Through the progress made so far (half way) many paths have been opened up, essentially in the last decade, toward international assertion of Romanian history, an extensive effort through the intensification of which we shall succeed in the coming years in offering the world the true and complete picture of the evolution of the Romanian people throughout the centuries, of their far from negligible place in the context of world history, and of the material and intellectual values through the implementation of which they have been contributing to mankind's progress.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### SUVAR DISCUSSES DISSIDENCE IN MEDIA, 'PETITIONISTS'

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct, 1, 2 Nov 82

[Article consisting of excerpts from the opening address delivered by Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, in a meeting of that committee's Commission for Ideological and Information Work on 28 October 1982: "Political-Ideological Tendencies and Issues in Our Ideological Struggle"]

[31 Oct 82 p 2]

[Text] The False Radicalism of an Aggressive Minority

A true euphoria of caviling has developed in the news media, signs have appeared of a kind of terror instituted by an aggressive minority of our free-thinking establishment. The press and newsmen are being used for an aggressive "reassessment" of both recent history and the current scene.

The programs and content of the main body of our news media are far below both their own creative capabilities and the creative forces of society. True bridges have not been erected in them for cooperation with creative people in all areas of material and nonmaterial production, with all those who have an authentic message, who can express themselves and who have something to say. It is indeed disturbing the extent to which the news media avoid relying on the broader creative forces in society, the extent to which they are cut off and rely only on their own pens. Incidentally, as a rule a creative person has a harder go of it in the news media than someone who is not creative.

#### Ties With the Party

The influence of the League of Communists on the choice of subject matter in the news media and on political-ideological developments in them certainly cannot be reduced either to the influence of the party organizations within the news organizations and in the ranks of the newsmen, nor to the personal influence exercised from party leadership bodies or even from a few leaders or an individual leader whom some newsman is "obeying" or "not obeying." The guidance of those media cannot be confined to the nexus of ties between the technical and administrative power in the news organizations themselves and specific political leadership groups, with newsmen as some sort of victims of the one and the other.

The influence of the League of Communists must exist and must become stronger, not in the sense of operational directives and direct intervention even in the most petty details of writing and broadcasting, but in the sense of the requirement that activity conform to the party program, that service be rendered to the party line rather than to some individual or individual party leadership group. There should be ties not with leaders, but with the party. And there are undoubtedly elements of monopolization and privatization of newspaper space, of screens and of the airwaves, as well as of editorial policy by groups and individuals. There is even good reason to ask whether in our context individuals are not virtually owners of the newspapers?

#### Without Divisions Into "Yours" and "Ours"

The broader influence of the party should be manifested both in the right and also the possibility of any party organization and any leadership coming forth with argued criticism and demands, whose weight will depend on the extent to which the demands have been presented, documented and justified in public.

Nor should there be a division in this between "your" and "our" newspapers, regardless of where in our country the particular newspaper is published. But unfortunately such a division does exist. Our attention must not be reduced to saving the souls only of news media in our own community, region or republic, displaying a priori criticism and a sense of suspicion toward those public media whose headquarters are somewhere else in Yugoslavia.

It is still an urgent task to guarantee the free flow of information in our socialist community, to safeguard its completeness, timeliness, quality and truthfulness. At the same time the news media cannot be neutral, unselective and uncritical. They cannot perform the role of a mere letter carrier. They cannot provide support to all ideas, propagate every sort of ideology, pass off alien systems of values, and take the position of fans of the "superstructure" of society, while their coverage of the "base" is lackadaisical, routine and stereotyped.

But the most dangerous are the manifestations of the news media being shut off and fragmented, of passing things over in silence and of being manipulated. All sorts of nationalistic exchanges of fire and liberalistic tutoring of others are taking place in the vacuum.

#### Powerful Weapons

Any sort of thunder-and-lightning attitude toward the news media would be very dangerous and harmful. Every sort of negative generalization is undesirable. After all, on the whole our news media are powerful weapons for the socialist progress of our society and a point of support for the organized subjective forces of socialism. But it would be not only naive, but also myopic to fail to see the fact that the organized efforts of those forces which not only are not interested in a real resolution of the key problems of our society at this moment, but are carried away with ambitions for threatening and even destroying our sociopolitical system and seeking some sort of alternatives, are finding expression through those media. It is in that sense that a true euphoria

of caviling has developed in the news media, as someone has already said; signs have appeared of a kind of terror exercised by an aggressive minority of our free-thinking establishment. The press and newsmen are being used for an aggressive "reassessment" of both recent history and also the current scene, in which our roses are not exactly blooming, but nevertheless there are no reasons for even the slightest divergence from Tito's course. Nor is there any scarcity of individuals who would rewrite history, supposedly having had enough of hagiographies and mystification. But contemporary reality, according to them, has been built up only of rotten stuff, our society is on the brink, and our ship is sinking hopelessly.

By no means do we wish to put all the news media in the defendant's dock, but rather we want to point to those oversights in them which could have serious consequences for our future development, for the continuity of the revolution. First of all, it is a question of acting from the positions of a false radicalism. This kind of radicalism is embodied by an aggressive, but not very numerous, group of newsmen and public figures who make statements on all sides and have actually privatized certain periodicals, columns and broadcasting programs.

#### Responsibility

Matters have gone so far that some of our news media often carry subject matter and themes which foreign services for psychological warfare and so-called ideological sabotage would gladly serve to our public. Children and young people are more exposed through these media to bourgeois than to the socialist view of the world. We should add to this the orientation toward protocol activity, ceremonies, celebrations, political gatherings and meetings. There are things which might be referred to as unsuitable imports, a certain "americanization" in news techniques and technology, in the training of newsmen and in the patterns of their behavior, as well as in the competition for readers, for viewers and for listeners, all of which goes hand in hand with the technocratic ideology and functionalist sociology.

There is no justification whatsoever to place on the news media all the responsibility for a certain escalation of the symptoms of the petty bourgeois cultural counterrevolution which have recently been piling up in a kind of revival of what already happened in the seventies. Some of the media serve as an exercise ground and transmission for them, they often generate them, and to that extent they themselves cannot be granted an amnesty from responsibility.

But the symptoms of the petit bourgeois cultural counterrevolution have deeper social causes in the entire context of our overall spiritual reproduction, which as yet is not at all subject to the dictate of associated labor and is not its internal measure, nor its inherent expression. The organized socialist consciousness is not only not on the offensive against these symptoms, but, what is more, is itself going to ruin under the pressure of their invasion. Above all there are no clear party assessments and timely reactions.

[1 Nov 82 p 4]

[Text] Petit Bourgeois Outbursts and Cases of Complacent Affectation

From the newspapers, by way of magazines and the airways and various university departments ... to church pulpits there are successions of rightwing and "leftwing" and of reactionary and false-revolutionary criticisms and the offering of alternatives. Everything is being questioned, and the consequences could be serious unless our ideological front begins to operate with full force.

Aside from the columns of newspapers and magazines, the airways and screens, various round table discussions, symposiums, exchanges of opinion on particular topics, scientific gatherings, lecture halls at universities and in schools, portions of the output of publishing houses, entire bodies of the social sciences, areas of culture, the study of history, literature and much else, all places where people talk, express themselves and explain things, all the way to church pulpits, are today battlegrounds of an intensified offensive various rightwing and "leftwing," that is, reactionary and false-revolutionary criticism and the offering of alternatives. Everything is being questioned, which as an intellectual demand is fine, but also everything that this society has created and done and which it is attempting is rejected, is negated, it is all spit upon and a competition seems to have developed in who can spit the most and furthest. We have here not only the illusory consciousness which the mass of half-educated people have of themselves, but also an abundance of pure petit bourgeois outbursts and complacent affectedness, hucksterism and glibness.

And all this monkey business is certainly not harmless in the least, but is threatening very serious consequences unless our ideological front is better organized and begins to operate with the full force of its potential. And that potential is not small, but is momentarily banked up.

Let us briefly examine several theses which have already been uttered around us like constants, assaulting the ears, the eyes and the hearts of people, especially the young.

Petit Bourgeois Witticisms

One of the theses is that socialism has more or less everywhere undergone a historical reduction to Stalinist practice, and that this has occurred in our case as well. The witticism of our "anti-Stalinist Stalinism" was uttered and written long ago. It is repeated today in countless variations. Let us illustrate this with statements concerning the literary output concerning Goli Otok (which is not even to mention the theses of that literature, most of which was trumped up). The author of one of the novels much talked about concerning the sufferings on Goli Otok (presumably a portion of the universal GULAG of socialism) has explained to us in one of his interviews that we settled accounts with Stalinism with Stalinist methods, and that we "vomited up our own Stalinism" on Goli Otok.

A newsman and journalist who has proclaimed himself to be a prvoborac [holder of the Partizan 1941 Commemorative Medal--translator's note] dating from 1968, explains to us that in that year, 1948, our party "divorced itself from Stalinism, but even to this very moment it has not managed to free itself altogether of--Stalinists." He asks: Why should we whip only other people's Stalinism, "as though that was a plant that did not grow here, as though we here did not have our own Boris Davidovich"? A Partizan general indeed has this to say concerning Goli Otok: "The most immediate moral interests of the present time, of our people ... demand that the blemishes be cleaned away ..." and demands that the truth be learned from official sources, since "... what was done on Goli Otok is more amoral than the death penalty, harder to bear than a bullet or the guillotine."

Every petit bourgeois, including the one who declares himself to be a Marxist, that is, who thinks of himself as the greatest and best Marxist, when he lacks arguments in a confrontation with someone who happens not to think like he does, shouts: Down with the Stalinist! And this shout, in typically petit bourgeois manner, will be taken as the principal proof that someone actually is a Stalinist.

Stalinism, we are told by authors in our university departments and free-lance journalists, and their numbers are not exactly small, is our constant, while anti-Stalinism is only our mask. Even the League of Communists has essentially remained a Stalinist party and is therefore supposedly withdrawing from the historical scene, since it is incapable of opening up an authentic socialist and democratic future. It is in fact the principal obstacle to real self-management. That is why this kind of socialist self-management, which has been painfully developing on our soil, is only a manipulative tool for maintaining the historically hopeless rule of a Stalinist party, which is barely to be distinguished from any party--an incarnation of statist socialism. Books, studies and articles can be cited in which all of this is argued, and unfortunately it is popular reading matter from which many young people get their education.

### The Eastern Error

The eastern error even of our own socialism as we are today developing it in our country, according to certain of our thinkers and "thinkers," lies in the fact that its historical genesis dates from the Russian October Revolution and that it has not (yet) renounced its Leninist legacy. All the evils of present-day socialism both in the east and in our country are supposedly founded in the Russian doctrine of "political socialism," which was shaped by Bakunin, Nechayev, Tkachev, Lenin, while Lukach "gave it its supreme philosophical form," and that in the sense of "shifting the value stresses from the concept of freedom toward the concept of discipline." And that doctrine of political socialism leads toward a revolution of the mechanical, totalitarian type, which "in certain of its features" does not rise essentially "above the ideological field of vision of the repressive and conservative regimes of the past." Supposedly, then, our own revolution has also been of that mechanical and totalitarian type. Political socialism in and of itself--we are told even in the columns of popular magazines--does not lead only to dictatorship, but also to



despotism (the former, that is, is unlimited power for a limited time, while the latter is unlimited power for an unlimited time).

According to some, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became Stalinist even before it entered the revolution and before it came to power. That is why, for example, in the disputes about Krleza, and after his death, when the dirty work of the group of radical and freedom-loving intelligentsia revived and continued with more fierceness, stubbornly striving to set Krleza in opposition to the party in order to portray the party hopelessly Stalinist on the eve of the revolution, in the National Liberation Struggle and up to the present day, one was to hear the more than recognizable allusion even to Josip Broz Tito, when it was asserted that in 1939 "some people were living in the Hotel Lux and listening at night when the NKVD was taking people out to be shot, but they still remained Stalinist." It has been said of Krleza's opponents at that time in the conflict and the literary Left that they "learned Stalin's lesson by heart," that they followed the policy of the Comintern and that they sent reports to Moscow about the behavior of the Krlezians and of Krleza himself, that, say, Ognjen Prica "advocated a discipline which presupposed the rolling of heads, the heads of his own friends among others." And so on.

Criminal accountability for malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country, which does exist in our system, is also according to some people "an instrument taken over uncritically from the Bolshevik practice of terror and violence toward people of different political persuasion." Even our own 1948, in the sense of suppressing the Cominform spirit, began in Kronstadt in 1921. In general the events in Kronstadt are "the root of what would later come to be called Stalinism." We are still following Stalin, some of our radical critics assert, and Stalin followed Lenin: "... the Stalinist terror imposed on communists and noncommunists would not have been possible, viewed in historical terms, if there had not been the Leninist terror exercised over communists."

#### The "Demystifiers" of the Past

The favorite topic of some critics of our society, historians, journalists and various speakers from public platforms, a topic that is stubbornly being passed off on the broad public, is what is referred to as demystification of the past, not just any past, nor anyone's past, but the past of our own revolution and society. Assertions are uttered to the effect that we still do not have an adequate history of the revolution and postrevolutionary period. Praise is addressed to V. Dedić for the courage with which he "approached the truth stored away in the archives, removing the seal of the taboo from it." The efforts toward "demystification" are evidenced by all the "output" related to Krleza and the year 1939, to Dedić's writing, to various works of history and memoirs, to literary treatments and various testimony concerning Goli Otok and the suffering of the followers of the Cominform.

The Partizans, our fathers and elders, and superiors, were great sinners, while the subsequent generations were brought up in error and were deceived. One very popular and "easy to digest" writer has uttered these words along

those lines in a fit of sincere confession: "It turns out that we were abused and manipulated and that they were really deceivers, murderers and liars--notorious memoirs have been appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is entering dark places which previously were not to be mentioned.... Some of them stopped trains between stations so that their wives' morning cafe au lait would not spill; they had warehouses for diplomats, it turned out that even during the war the leaders had a different diet than the soldiers, horrible things have cropped up which an entire people had no idea of."

### Dangerous Mythomanias

This program to "demystify" the revolution has room, for example, for efforts to attribute to an agent of the Comintern great service to Tito and Tito's behavior and Tito's decisions at certain points, efforts to minimize the National Liberation Struggle in Croatia and the role of the Croatian CP in 1941, to impart "authentic truth" to the entire history of the liberation war, and to rehabilitate certain bourgeois movements and individuals in our more recent history.

Debates and squabbles have become steadily more frequent concerning evaluation of the cultural legacy, the writing of history, literature and the film, and in them nationalistic and liberalistic views have been predominant.

Squabbles about articles for the second edition of the encyclopedia of Yugoslavia are also symptomatic in this regard. They were loyal to the myths of the respective nationalities, they were allergic to the myths of others, especially when it was a question of our own nationalities and ethnic minorities, who only in the context of socialism have been registering and evaluating their own history and culture, so that in their ranks, by a deeper logic of history, there is also tendency emerging today for the creation and accentuation of myths. There are cases of exclusiveness, and unscrupulousness quarrels are conducted (having nothing in common with application of real scientific criteria) instead of the most intelligent and best-qualified people, regardless of the nationality they belong to or community where they live, coming together in the joint task of Marxist reevaluation of the history and culture of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

In any case a danger threatens that the second edition of the encyclopedia, instead of being a step forward from the first edition, which was under the vigilant eye of such a great man as Miroslav Krleža, will in fact be a step backward and will be redolent of the spirit of restoration of provincial criteria which were formulated on this soil at one time by the underdeveloped bourgeoisie: that is, for it and in its name by earlier generations of petit bourgeois semi-intellectuals. Credit is due to those few great scholars in the past whose vision rose up above their time.

[2 Nov 82 p 4]

[Text] Developing Authentic Socialist Thought

The best method of the ideological struggle against reactionary political phenomena and the undermining activities and indeed even aggressive attacks of the antisocialist forces is to indicate before the broadest public, before the working people and citizens, the real subject matter, essence, background and consequences of what is being done, written and asserted.

A certain group of people have been constantly concerned because of the threat to the freedom of spiritual creativity in general, and artistic creativity in particular, because of the repression of words and thoughts (the "crime of thinking"), because of the persecution of the "most distinguished" intellectuals, those few people who think and act as the consciousness and conscience of society. In any case, it is asserted that the divorce between the government and art is simply a matter of destiny under socialism.

Exemplars

In one of our newspapers the author of a novel about Goli Otok agreed in an interview with the person interviewing him "that regimes have quarrels with a large portion of the intelligentsia in countries where socialism has triumphed." According to him this is a painful and accurate fact. And evidence that this actually is the state of affairs is given by a well-known film director in one of his numerous interviews: "As though in the so-called socialist systems there were a kind of jealousy between the party and art: Who is going to define what is beautiful, who is going to define what human happiness is? Since the October Revolution there has been a tradition that party congresses report to the people that it is happy and tells it why it is happy."

You will note that this film personality attaches the epithet "so-called" to the phrase "socialist systems" and that he certainly is not making an exception of our own. In general a repressive policy is conducted toward freedom of thought, and "where there is no dialogue or disputation, where there is no movement of the air (...) that is where cults arise, that is where spiritual weakness dominates and where freedom is still distributed in doses." The freedom to write is so "threatened" that the author who writes a great deal and writes quickly and has had a huge success from his "smooth" and lightweight stuff, makes this answer to the question of why he publishes so much: "I have to say quickly everything I have to say, while it is still possible, before some other semiliterate guys come back again." (He tells us that he experienced the first semiliterate guys when he was young.)

Another writer, who teaches us the old virtues with increasing frequency and fierceness, and who at the same time is propagating many reactionary and purely retrograde things, explains that "someone's 'yes' makes sense only if it includes the possibility of saying 'no' at any moment. In our context you can be in the swim or out of it. In that case I am in favor of being out of it." A well-known reviewer and polemicist, a man who writes feature articles about everything under the sun, also teaches us that "as long as it is possible

to go to jail for the 'crime of thinking,' it will not be possible to speak of real freedom." Another person, neither a writer nor a critic, though he claims to be both (and is a university professor), calls for as many books as possible which will portray the sufferings of the followers of the Cominform, since "when there is a dozen or so such books, we will receive them without any sort of sensationalism." And at the same time "greater freedom is attained" thereby.

#### The Petitionists

One group of intellectuals and university students sent a petition to the highest bodies of government back in late 1980 favoring that the "crime of thinking" be abolished, that is, that the concept of hostile propaganda be deleted from the criminal code, which certainly would mean that punishment would no longer be imposed for anything like that. One of the ideologues of the struggle for absolute freedom of thought says along these lines that "whenever speech and thought have been a matter for prosecution, law enforcement agencies and the organs of repression have had the easiest time classifying them as hostile propaganda."

It is well known that over the last 2 or 3 years there have been several petitions calling for ending the political repression of the freedom of writing and speech, and in connection with the trial of certain nationalists, the trial of the poet Djogo, the pronouncement of sentences against the members of the Irredenta in Kosovo, the "ban" on showing 12 films over the period since 1972, the sentences for misdemeanors against the group which in a meeting for solidarity with the Palestinian people (held in Belgrade) sought solidarity with the Polish Solidarnosc, against the "manhunt" against V. Seselj in Sarajevo, and so on. The group of people who sign these things are more or less the same and is lengthened or shortened depending on the names of university students, most of them in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.

As examples of repression in the period since the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, when supposedly the bureaucratic lid was again put on, up to the present time, the following are referred to: the closing down of the Korcula school, abolishing the journal PRAXIS, the removal of seven professors from the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, accompanied by the unwritten ban on speaking and writing in public, which also "frightened" other people, imposed a harsh self-censorship, drove people away from the treatment of outstanding problems, held back the development of thought in fields which have great public importance, especially in philosophy and sociology, and so on. This has occurred--according to the interpretation furnished by one of the principal leaders of PRAXIS-ism in an interview in our most influential newspaper--because simply "some people think that socialism should develop as a self-managing, democratic and humanistic society, but that process has to be carefully controlled."

#### Films

Since 1978, as part of the battle for liberties and freedom, the topic of the "black wave" in the films has again been raised, since supposedly our best

film creators have been frustrated and their films removed from repertoires, and in this sense "true political campaigns" have been undertaken "with the clear desire to bring ideological order into the film industry." The art of the film has been suffering from "ideological interventionism." This we are told by five or six of our "disputed" creators in what must run to some 50 interviews which they have given to our newspapers in the course of just 1 year, and along the same lines are to be found many articles and essays defending the freedom of film creativity. Recently there was a petition on this as well going so far even as to state that "the actual banning of these works of art, as an act of illegality and unfreedom, is one of the factors which have contributed to the social and moral crisis of the Yugoslav community today," and revision of the bans "would have the value of an incentive even in mobilizing democratic socialist forces toward resolving the Yugoslav crisis in the spirit of democratic socialism."

But not only is the "black wave" in the film defended, but fierce attacks are conducted against the "red wave," a term which is supposed to cover a majority of films about the National Liberation Struggle, which are said to be artistically without value and on which so many billions have been spent.

#### Tactics

So, a battle is being waged in our country over human rights and freedoms. Individuals and groups are very outspoken in their defense, and against their being threatened and trampled upon, against repression and manipulation, and they have developed a systematic activity of presenting petitions, which is scrupulously advertised abroad and taken as evidence of a rebellion of the intelligentsia against the regime and the system. This is indeed understandable, since it fits into the general concern of Amnesty International and PEN CLUB circles, certain liberal deputies in western parliaments and certain Social Democrat leaders as to freedoms and rights in Yugoslavia, and also in the unprecedented Quaker Christian and democratic-humanistic campaign for freedom and democracy under socialism.

Socialism is everywhere oppressive, administered by police methods, totalitarian, an expression of one-party monopoly, antimarket, incapable of conducting economic activity and of achieving high productivity and of assuring people any sort of prosperity on any scale, of the right to integrity and individuality, and so on and so forth. Socialism and Stalinism are equivalent terms, and it is a great error to suppose that it is different in Yugoslavia. That is why the forces of "democratic socialism" need to be rallied against the outdated and antihumanistic one-party dictatorship, the bureaucratic reign of terror and police repression. The tactics and strategy of "capturing freedom" are worked out and tested along those lines. And all is to be presented to the public so that there are no taboo topics, so that absolute freedom prevails, so that the people knows everything, and then it will also know what it should do.

Society should be bared so that all the filth in the organism is made evident, so that all its incurable diseases are X-rayed; self-management should develop spontaneously and freely, and the League of Communists, as the quintessence of

the political monopoly, should no longer be a historical obstacle. The League of Communists could be relegated to a museum of antiquities, which would open up the way to the forces of "democratic socialism."

### Criticism

In this country it is not any sort of "democratic socialism" which is convulsively and painfully developing and going forward in spite of all the moments of crisis, but socialism of the associated workers. Social criticism, which ignores our goals and offers restoration of bourgeois solutions in the political organization of society and at the same time neglects the change in the mode of production and production relations and the liberation of the producers in the social process of labor, is for us on a track that leads nowhere. And that kind of criticism, as we see, has become very common and has more and more been capturing the news media, creating its own "public," making prey of more and more young people, who already have many reasons and occasions to be dissatisfied with their position and opportunities for public expression. This criticism is not confronted nor tackled by real Marxist and socialist criticism which is sufficiently stimulated, developed and offensive, a criticism fully committed to the historic and immediate interests of the working class and to the vision and upward development of Yugoslav socialist self-management.

### The Public

Nor is the problem so much in the fact that "suspicious" books are also being published, that "objectionable" films are being made, that in publishing activity there has been a kind of flowering of various ideological trash and various sabotage operations motivated by commercialism and sensationalism, that popular magazines are overflowing with political gossip, various "provocations" and insinuations, nor is it confined to these magazines, that in many public platforms individuals and groups openly take up positions which are antisocialist, whether they be nationalistic or anarcholiberal or dogmatic Stalinist, that much that ought to be the topic of serious Marxist criticism has found a place in textbooks and lectures, that in the ranks of the League of Communists there are a great many cases of ideological unresourcefulness and confusion. More or less of all this is inevitable and it must all come out on the surface of public light and come before the public as an expression of deeper social contradictions and basic developments of society and of the real class alignment of the social forces.

No policy of prohibitions and repressions and unnecessary trials here and there can be fruitful in overcoming adverse political-ideological manifestations and developments, nor indeed in keeping antisocialist forces from speaking out and acting. We must do a good job of organizing the ideological struggle at every moment and in every place and conduct it with skill and arguments, each speaking in good time to his own kind. The best method in an ideological campaign against reactionary political manifestations and subversion and indeed against aggressive outbursts of antisocialist forces is to point out to the broadest public, to the working people and citizens, the real content, essence, background and consequences of everything being done, written

and asserted. In that way we will develop authentic socialist thinking in all its breadth, in which it will not be easy for various ideological diversionary operations and tricks of our political opponents to get by, offering their nationalistic, clericalistic, false-leftist and bureaucratic visions and solutions to social problems.

7045

CSO: 2800/48

## YUGOSLAVIA

### WEST GERMAN ARTICLE CITES WARNINGS FROM INTELLECTUALS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Nov 82 p 6

[Excerpt from article by Carl G. Stroehm] In a recent interview in Belgrade Professor Bosko Gluscevic, director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research in Titograd, said: "Our social, economic and political structures have become the means for holding back the mobility of people, goods, raw materials, social capital, even of information. These structures want to regionalize and localize everything. They want to subordinate everything to their control.... Especially dangerous is the hindrance placed on the flow of information..." This prominent party member was pointing to the inclination of local functionaries. He then noted that warnings and proposals by scientists were usually seen by these political functionaries as "attacks on the system." Suggestions made by scientists at the right time on how to master the present crisis more easily...had been ignored by political elements.

Gluscevic recalled a recent Central Committee meeting where the Slovenian official Popit attacked scientists and intellectuals while the Macedonian Grlickov warned the party against setting itself over the intellectuals. Gluscevic said anti-intellectualism of the Yugoslav party is a lesson taught it from outside (obviously meaning one of the Soviet lessons) which many functionaries had retained for decades. "It is no wonder," he said, "that even today there is a deeply-rooted conviction in the party apparatus that we do not need smart people, but obedient people."

He also spoke of the transformation which takes place in normal people as soon as they have a position of power. "As soon as we elect someone to a function, even if it does not conform to his abilities but was done because of the needs of the (political) structure, this person, even if he were natural, simple, and realistic before, suddenly, after his election, considers himself something special and, in conformity with his function, insists on making absolute judgments and final conclusions and interfering in very complicated problems and subtle analyses requiring a highly qualified person...."

Similar radical judgments were made a few months before by another prominent Yugoslav scholar, the Belgrade sociologist Neca Jovanov (also a party member) who said in the Belgrade publication INTERVJU: "I categorically dispute the assertion that the source of our difficulties lies in the contradiction between concept and practice. Because then one assumes that the concept is good but



the practice is bad. And behind this thesis is concealed its real essence, namely, that the creators of the concept are a-priori good and indispensable and are thus exempt from all critical analysis; while those who are applying this concept are a-priori bad and thus are the constant target not so much of analytical criticism as political and moral condemnation. The blatant content of this thesis is: When disagreement arises between the government and the people--the people must be changed!"

Jovanov asks for a "dialogue in the party which would be conducted in a human and intellectually honorable way," in which there would be a settling of accounts, not with people but with ideas. Instead of this, however, the party lacks even "an elementary dialogue" and any attempt at such outside the party is immediately disqualified as "party-hostile action."

The accumulation of institutions and norms, Jovanov says, has suppressed self-management in Yugoslavia. Those who have been part of this self-management process are exhausted...by the feeling that they have to deal with problems over which they have no real power of decision (which is held by the party). Jovanov says: "Here we know the results of elections to leading functions even before the elections have started. Because it is a question not of an election but of the distribution of the same people to various posts."

He warned especially of the dangerous political consequences of the immobility which exists. The strike mechanism is known, but that which one calls "absenteeism" and passive resistance which Jovanov says has reached "unimaginable proportions," have not been inadequately studied. "We only know that the causes are of a social nature: the growth of an intellectual proletariat, youth unemployment, and a lower living standard, even below the minimum for existence for an industrial worker." He warns, "What no one can predict is when this passive political resistance will change into active resistance, and to what degree. Our political structure totally overlooks this fact."

Certainly a comparison between Yugoslavia and the explosive situation in Poland was not mentioned for many reasons. But obviously some intellectuals and intelligent party people in Yugoslavia are thinking about this. Jovanov said in regard to a book he wrote in which he sets forth the [above] non-conformist thesis: He hopes he has thereby given "the semi-literate ideological overseers" some sleepless nights.

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END